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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XLI JANUARY, 1948 NUMBER 1

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN (Lk. XVII.21)

COLIN H. ROBERTS

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

Ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν Οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν Ἰδοὺ ὧδε ἤ Ἐκεῖ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν.

I

IF OF ALL Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom this one paragraph had alone survived, no Greek scholar would have thought of rendering the last sentence except in the way familiar by usage and sanctioned by a tradition of exegesis almost unbroken until modern times, *The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.*[1] Equally there is hardly a modern theologian [2] — whether reacting against the individualism of the nineteenth century or influenced by theories of 'realised eschatology' or simply awake to the very real difficulties of the older view — who does not translate, *The Kingdom of Heaven is among you.*[3] And yet the objections to both

[1] The unanimity is to a large extent deceptive. *Within* can be given a wide variety of meanings; a useful selection of early opinions (including the surprising view of St. Gregory of Nyssa that it is another way of saying that man is made in the image of God) will be found in J. Maldonatus, Comment. in IV Evagg. (Paris, 1629), ad loc.

[2] To mention a few: Creed, Dibelius, Easton, Klostermann, Lagrange, Manson, Moffatt. With a little hesitation W. Bauer (in his Wörterbuch z. N.T., 3rd. ed.,) comes down on the same side. B. H. Streeter (to judge from a passing remark in The Four Gospels, p. 290) is the latest scholar known to me to keep to the old view.

[3] This version is no less capable of a variety of meanings. Either the saying is regarded as eschatological (*ἐστίν* being an apocalyptic present) "Lo! the Kingdom is suddenly in your midst" or more simply and with less strain on the Greek as referring to the presence of Jesus and his disciples among the Pharisees. There are other shades of meaning; for these and for the pros and cons of the two views

renderings are substantial, if not (as I think) insuperable. To survey briefly what is familiar ground, it is urged against the first that an immanentist conception of the Kingdom as a state of mind, as indwelling (whether by grace or nature) in the human soul,[4] is alien to the teaching of Jesus throughout the Gospels, and that if a universalist interpretation is not placed upon the words, the incongruity of their being addressed to the Pharisees remains unexplained.[5] The objection to the second view is twofold; firstly, ἐντός never means simply *among* either in classical Greek or in the language of the papyri and inscriptions (in spite of the insistence of commentators this meaning finds no place in the new Liddell and Scott) and secondly that it ignores the Fathers and the whole exegetical tradition.[6]

Any interpretation of this saying must, if it is to be valid, satisfy four conditions; it must be philologically unobjectionable; it must not part company with the entire tradition of the Church or, if it does so, it must be able to explain why the true rendering was so long overlooked; it must make sense in its context; it must not contradict the whole tenor of the Gospel teaching about the Kingdom. It is the argument of this paper that such a rendering exists, that it accounts for both the opposing versions and in a sense includes them, and that the weight of evidence in its favor is greater than has hitherto been admitted.

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given above the reader may be referred to any modern commentary. A particularly detailed treatment of the passage with a citation of the views of earlier scholars will be found in an article by B. S. Easton in the American Journal of Theology for 1912, pp. 275 sq. I have found this helpful, though I dissent both from his interpretation of the Greek evidence and from his conclusions. To the view which I am here concerned to defend he only refers in connection with a passage from Tertullian (where I think he misconceives Tertullian's meaning: see below, note 20) and ignores the other Patristic evidence (the papyri which I quote later, were not, of course, then available).

[4] The idea of a universal, indwelling spirit is certainly more congenial to Stoicism than to Judaism or Christianity; see the striking passage in Seneca, Ep. xli, 2 (*Prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. Ita dico, Lucili, sacer intra nos spiritus sedet . . . .*) and compare Epict. Disc. I, 14, 14 and M. Aurelius, III, 5: V. 10: XII, 1.

[5] It is well remarked (H.D.A. Major, T. W. Manson, C. J. Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus, pp. 595–7) that elsewhere in the Gospels it is man that enters into the Kingdom, not the Kingdom into man.

[6] We may further note that when St. Luke wishes to say *among* he uses ἐντῷ μέσῳ which occurs 12 times in the Gospel and Acts; ἐντός is found in only one other passage in the whole of the N. T. (Mt. xxiii, 26).

II

The two passages most often adduced by commentators on St. Luke as evidence that ἐντός in classical Greek could mean *among* are both from Xenophon. Neither will stand up to examination. The first is from the chapter of the Anabasis describing the conduct of the Greek guards of Cyrus' camp after the defeat at Cunaxa [7] οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ ἄλλα, ὁπόσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. Here the obvious meaning is *within their lines* or possibly (given a usage in the papyri which will be discussed later) *within their power*; at any rate the word retains the limiting sense characteristic of all its usages. In the second passage, from the Hellenica, the speaker is Theramenes and the subject is the Constitution of the Four Hundred: [8] ἄτοπον δοκοίη . . . τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμον τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὔτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὔτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἴη γενέσθαι. Here ἐντός has its common meaning of *within the limits of*, whether used of numbers or time. No other passage from a classical Greek author need come into consideration.[9] In his grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri E. Mayser, writing in 1933, noted twenty examples [10] and distinguished three meanings (1) *within* in a local sense — much the commonest use (2) *within* in a temporal sense e.g. ἐντὸς . . . ἡμερῶν (3) a development of these uses with the meaning *within the limits of, up to* (used e.g. of sums of money). Apart from the cases discussed below, the uses of the word in the papyri of the Roman period are the same. In brief, the function of ἐντός is to include or to limit; it implies the existence of something outside with which its object is contrasted. What it does not convey is the distributive and discursive sense of e.g. παρά. Consequently if we translate ἐντὸς ὑμῶν *within your circle* (linguistically quite possible) we are met by precisely the same difficulty that is a

[7] Anab. I, 10, 3.

[8] Hell. II, 3, 19.

[9] Plummer in his commentary on St. Luke actually cites the following passage from Plato, Laws, 789A to illustrate the classical use of ἐντός meaning *among*: Ἀθ. . . . τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν αὐτῶν μητέρων τρεφομένοις . . . Κλ. ἢ τοῖς κυομένοισι φράζεις; Ἀθ. ναί.

[10] Grammatik II, 2, p. 539.

stumbling block in the traditional version; why should there be this emphasis on the Pharisees? To introduce at this point a contrast between Jew and Gentile is an irrelevancy that destroys the coherence of the episode.

There is to my knowledge only one author who uses ἐντός in a sense approaching that demanded by most scholars and that is Symmachus in his translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, made probably in the late second century A.D.[11] There are three passages;[12] in one (Lamentations, I, 3) where the LXX has ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν θλιβόντων Symmachus rendered ἐντὸς τῶν Θλιβόντων αὐτήν; in the second (Ps. lxxxvii, 16) Symmachus gives ἐντὸς νεκρῶν ἀφεθεὶς ἐλεύθερος against the ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος of the LXX; in the third (Ps. cxl, 5) the LXX has nothing to correspond exactly with his ἐντὸς τῶν κακιῶν αὐτῶν. Although in all these passages ἐντός still retains something of its limiting sense, *among* is undeniably a legitimate translation, though *in the number of* might express more exactly the sense of the first two. The explanation of this anomaly is probably to be found in the ambiguity of the corresponding Hebrew preposition which may mean either *within* or *among* and would explain his choice of ἐντός.[13]

III

At this point we may diverge to notice a suggestion by J. M. Creed [14] that the saying may have borne one meaning on the lips of Jesus, another in the mind of St. Luke, and that the latter may have given it a spiritual meaning it was never intended to bear in accord with the development of the idea of the Kingdom in the early Church.[15] Similarly the authors of The Mission and Message of Jesus [16] observe that in Hebrew and Aramaic the corresponding prepositions are ambiguous (as can be seen at Exodus) xvii, 7 — "there is a real ambiguity in the meaning of the Hebrew

[11] On Symmachus, see H. B. Swete, Introduction to the O. T. in Greek, pp. 49 sq.

[12] For my knowledge of these passages of Symmachus I am indebted to Easton's article (quoted above) and his The Gospel According to St. Luke, ad loc. They will be found in Field's Hexapla.

[13] See the immediately following paragraph. I should emphasize that for any references to Hebrew or Aramaic I am entirely dependent on the authorities quoted.

[14] The Gospel of Luke (Macmillan, 1930), ad loc.

[15] For this he quotes Rom. xiv. 17.

[16] See note 5.

word." They argue that ἐντός itself is only one of the possible translations of the probable Aramaic original which would equally well be rendered by ἐν μέσῳ. It should be noted that this is not the same thing as saying that the expression as it stands in St. Luke is an Aramaism, nor has this (to my knowledge) ever been suggested. St. Luke was writing if not for Greeks then for hellenising Jews with little or no Aramaic and Hebrew; the object of this note is the strictly limited one of trying to discover what St. Luke intended this expression to convey to his readers. To discuss the antecedents of the Gospel and its possible Aramaic sources would take the present writer far out of his depths; what is important for the present argument is that the ambiguity of the Aramaic is a sufficient explanation for the reading *among* found in the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac alone of all the ancient versions (unless we prefer to assume that at an early date ἐντός was glossed by ἐν or παρά.)[17] St. Luke may have mistranslated; but the hypothesis that he did so cannot be proved and is superfluous.

IV

In A.D. 270 a young Greek doctor attached to the Roman forces who were engaged in or near Alexandria with some Bedouin allies of Zenobia wrote home to his family in Upper Egypt; [18] he gave them news of the fighting and then went on: πέμψατέ μοι τὸ ἐραιοῦν κολώβειν (*l.* ἐρεοῦν κολόβιον) ἵνα ἐντός μου αὐ[τὸ] εὕρω. "Send me the woollen jacket so that I may have it with me" (the εὕρω suggests that he may be returning to his lodgings from the campaign). A closely similar use of the word (the only other one known to me) occurs in an unpublished papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. This is a petition addressed to C. Minicius Italus, Pre-

[17] His dependence upon the Syriac would explain why Ephraim Syrus (whose knowledge of Greek was of the slightest) treats ἐντός as meaning *among*; he is the only Father to do so.

[18] The letter was published in 1930 by Zereteli and Jernstedt as no. 1 of P. Ross. Georg. III — a volume with some unusual and interesting texts which has received comparatively little attention (I have not succeeded in tracing a review of it in any American or British periodical). For the background of the letter the introduction of the editors to this and the following letter (which comes from the same circle) should be read. They place both letters in the third century; for reasons which it would take too long to set out here, I think both can be dated on internal grounds to A.D. 270.

fect of Egypt in the years A.D. 99–100 from a wine-merchant of the city who claims that his late partner's widow is defrauding him: (1.7 sq.): ἡ δὲ ἔχουσ[α] τὸ φόρτιον το[ῦ] οἴνου ἐντὸς αὐτῆς τὴν τιμὴν ἐνεβόλεσε πᾶσαν. Here ἐντὸς αὐτῆς can only mean *in her hands, in her possession.* One other papyrus may be quoted as illustrative of the way in which this usage may have developed from a commoner sense — P. Oxy. X, 1274, in which (l. 13) the phrase occurs ἔτι ὄντος ἐντὸς τοῦ Λαιτωρίου νόμου, "when I was still within (subject to, under the control of) the *Lex Laetoria.*"

It is arguable that the meaning of ἐντός in these two passages provides the warrant for which we have been looking for the sense *close to, near to* and so to something not very distant from *among*; but so to translate would miss a shade of meaning in the Greek and would fail to account for the Patristic tradition. In these two passages it means rather *in the hands of, in the control of* and it is worth recalling that this is at least a permissible sense in the passage from the Anabasis quoted above.

V

In general the early interpretation of this passage is all but unanimous in favor of the sense *within*,[19] but this is frequently qualified in one direction. First in time and perhaps in importance is Tertullian.[20] "Ecce enim," he writes, "regnum dei intra vos

[19] An instance of how far back this interpretation goes is provided by the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus. In one of these the saying recurs (P. Oxy. 654, 10) and in such a context that there can be no doubt it means *within your souls* (see H. G. Evelyn White, The Sayings of Jesus, p. 8 and for a particularly convincing interpretation of this passage W. Schubart in ZtNW, XX, pp. 215 sq.). This interpretation is approaching that which was placed on the saying by the heretical sect of the Naassenes, to judge from the passage quoted by Hippolytus, Ref. Haer. V. 7 (τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανοῦ ζητουμένη), referring to man's esoteric nature.

[20] Adv. Marcionem, IV, 35. Easton, in the article already mentioned, attributes to Tertullian the meaning "within your power to put into your hearts." All that Tertullian says is that it is within your power (i.e. to accept or reject), as though he had written *penes vos est.* Easton's comment that such a rendering as he puts into Tertullian's mouth is "beyond the pale of good exegesis" is fair enough, but beside the point. In passing it may be noted that *intra* (which is the rendering adopted both by the Old Latin and the Vulgate) is simply the dictionary equivalent of ἐντός and cannot itself be used (as is clear from the sentence just quoted) to determine the latter word's meaning. There is no parallel to this use of *intra* in classical Latin with the very doubtful exception of Seneca, Medea 520 (and there it is probable that the correct reading is *infra*, not *intra.*

est. Quis non ita interpretabitur, intra vos est, id est in manu, in potestate vostra, si audiatis, si faciatis dei propositum." (*In manu* is surely just what ἐντός means in the papyri quoted above.) As we should expect, Origen interprets the saying in a spiritual and sometimes in a universalist sense,[21] but in a number of passages the Kingdom is regarded as a potentiality in the soul of man, the grain of seed which may or may not come to fruition.[22] So in a homily on Numbers [23] he writes "sed intra vos est salutis occasio sicut et Dominus dixit, ecce enim regnum dei intra vos est; intra nos namque est conversionis facultas"; elsewhere [24] he says that the saying is intended only for the pure in heart. Elsewhere again [25] the purely interior aspect of the Kingdom is stressed and the Kingdom itself is interpreted as the indwelling Word. Cyprian [26] quotes the saying in his discussion of Deuteronomy, xxx, 19 in support of the view that freedom to believe or not believe lies in our own choice, thus clearly aligning himself with Tertullian. Finally, the exegesis of Cyril of Alexandria, in particular his gloss on the word ἐντός, deserves quotation: [27] *μὴ γὰρ δὴ χρόνους ἐρωτᾶτε, φησί . . . σπουδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, ἐντὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστι· τουτέστιν ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις προαιρέσεσι καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κεῖται τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ἔξεστι γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντι . . .*

VI

With this passage from Cyril we arrive at the interpretation of the *pericope* as a whole. For not only should this sentence not be taken from its context, but it is important to note that it is added in explanation of what goes before it, and is not the culmination and *raison d'être* of the incident. To the question, *When is the Kingdom coming?* the answer is that it does not come at all if you strain your eyes to look for it, because it is with

[21] e.g. De Princ. I, 3, 6.
[22] *περὶ εὐχῆς* 25, 1 (Koetschau p. 363).
[23] xxiv, 2.
[24] Homily on Exodus, ix, 4: cf. also homily on Luke, xxxvi (Rauer 215–6).
[25] Homily on Joshua, xiii, 1, p. 427: ibid. xviii, 2, p. 243: Homily on Jeremiah, xviii, p. 298 (where the kingdom is taken to mean the universal *logos*).
[26] Test. ii, 52.
[27] In Migne, PG, LXXII, Comment. in Luc. §368 (col. 841).

you, in your possession, if you want it, now.[28] To ask whether the Kingdom is external or internal, a state of mind or a state of society, a process or a catastrophic event is (in this context) to ask the wrong question; it is no wonder, then, that both answers are wrong, or rather partial and incomplete. Both may in a sense be right. It is a present reality, but only if you wish it to be so. The misconception to be removed is that the Kingdom is something external to men,[29] independent of their volitions and actions; it is a conditional possession. There is nothing strange about this conception of the Kingdom. Elsewhere in the Gospels the Kingdom is something that can be received; [30] something to be sought for like the pearl of great price; [31] something that belongs to some people and not to others.[32] "Ask and it shall be given unto you; seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you. For everyone that asks receives and he who seeks finds, and to him that knocks it shall be opened." [33]

[28] So Maldonatus (op. cit.), following Cyril: *qua poterant, si vellent, Christum recipere.*

[29] Cf. Origen, Comment. in Joh. xix, 12: *τούτοις δὲ φιλανθρώπως ὁ σωτὴρ ὑποδείκνυσι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας, ἵνα μὴ ζητῶσιν αὐτὴν ἔξω ἑαυτῶν μηδὲ λέγωσιν Ἰδοὺ ὧδε ἢ ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς· Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστι. καὶ ὅσον γε σώζομεν τὰ ἐνσπαρέντα ἡμῶν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ἀληθείας σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς, οὐδέπω ἀπελήλυθεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος.*

[30] Mk. x, 15.

[31] Lk. xii, 31: Mt. xiii, 45.

[32] Lk. xviii, 16: Mt. v, 3, 10.

[33] Lk. xi, 9 (cf. Mt. vii, 7).

THE *KLINE* OF SARAPIS

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Among the Graeco-Oriental cults that shared the loyalties of the Mediterranean peoples during the first four centuries of our era, the religion of Sarapis occupied a commanding position.[1] Throughout his career Sarapis was a worker of miracles, but no miracle of his doing ever equalled in historical significance the political thaumaturgy by which he was brought to life. A composite figure created in the last years of the fourth century B.C. by the first Ptolemy, for the purpose of binding together the divergent ethnic elements of Egypt,[2] he was the Greek Pluto imposed on Apis, the Egyptian bull-god of Memphis, who became at death another Osiris, and specifically Osiris-Apis. The identification was of the usual syncretistic type, since Pluto and Osiris were both gods of the dead. As a newcomer Sarapis underwent a long probation at the side of Osiris and Isis, and although with characteristic inconsequence Sarapis never wholly supplanted Osiris, by the second century A.D. he had become, together with Isis, the most beloved figure of the native pantheon,[3] while outside Egypt he

N.B. I have made no specific reference to Theodor Hopfner's Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, 5 parts, Bonn, 1922–25, but I have depended on it constantly. Hopfner's extensive index provides a conspectus of Egyptian religion readable in itself and of a kind not available elsewhere. I am happy to acknowledge also my indebtedness to A. D. Nock for valuable comment and bibliography; without his kind intervention I might easily have overlooked the Bacchic inscription in the Metropolitan Museum, which has proved of basic importance for the interpretation of P. Mich. Inv. 4686. J. G. Winter has kindly consented to my use in this paper of our joint transcript of the papyrus, which is intended ultimately to form part of an edition of private letters on papyrus in the Michigan Collection.

This paper was read at the Annual Meeting of The American Philosophical Society on April 25, 1947.

[1] For a general survey of the Graeco-Oriental cults see Cumont, Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain, 4th ed., Paris, 1929; more briefly, Gressmann, Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenist.-röm. Zeitalter, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930.

[2] The exact meaning of this statement in the historical context is still open to question. See footnote 93.

[3] The most recent detailed account of Sarapis is by Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927, introd., where all earlier views, among them

was receiving the reverent attention of Greeks of the rank of Plutarch and Aristides.[4] In great measure, the prestige of his magnificent temple at Alexandria [5] and the unceasing flow of propaganda literature [6] account for his eminence at this time. His greatest glory, however, was still to come. In the fourth century, when the approaching victory of the Christian cult threatened all pagan beliefs with extermination, Sarapis took on the rôle of a universal solar deity.[7] In this guise he was the

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theories deriving Sarapis from Babylonia, Syria, and Pontus, are reconsidered with the author's usual restraint and penetration. See also Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. 2te Reihe, I, art. Sarapis (Roeder), 2394–2426. For the latest *vue d'ensemble*, executed with characteristic brilliance, see Jouguet, Trois études sur l'hellénisme, Cairo, 1944, 120–125. The ancient sources are conveniently arranged by Schmidt, R.G.V.V. VIII, pt. 2, 1909, 49ff. On the preëminence of Isis see Anrich, Antikes Mysterienwesen, Göttingen, 1894, 44; Dow, H.T.R. XXX, 1937, 231.

[4] Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride 28 (361F–362B); Plutarch identified Sarapis with Osiris (ibid.; 61 [376A]). Aristides, *εἰς Σάραπιν* (45, ed. Keil). For the spread of the Egyptian cults through the Greek world see Rusch, De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis, Diss. Berlin, 1906; Brady, Missouri Studies X, 1935, No. 1 (esp. his concluding sentence: "By the time of Augustus, the cult of Sarapis and Isis had spread throughout all Greece and remained the dominant cult there, very probably, until displaced by Christianity"); Dow, H.T.R. XXX, 1937, 183–232. By the 2nd cent. A.D. the Sarapis cult was entrenched as far north as Cologne, where he was worshipped by a *cline* or dining fraternity (Salač, Berl. Phil. Woch. XXXIV, 1914, 253–5). His hold on the popular mind of Egypt is reflected in private letters on papyrus written at Alexandria. In the 1st cent. A.D. a formula of obeisance to Sarapis begins to be used after the prescript, and in the 2nd cent. examples are plentiful; they taper off and finally disappear in the 3rd cent. (Ziemann, Diss. Hal. XVIII, 1911, 321–3; Exler, Diss. Cath. Univ. Amer., 1923, 108–110). Its suppression in the 4th cent. may be related to the bitter struggles of that critical period, when Egyptian paganism faced an advancing Christian front (cf. Bell, H.T.R. XXXVII, 1944, 186, 204).

[5] Pausanias 1.42 (18.4) states that "the Egyptians have temples of Sarapis; the most magnificent belongs to the Alexandrians, and the most ancient is in Memphis." As shown in an inscription discovered by Alan Rowe at Rhacotis in 1943, Ptolemy III erected "the temple and the temenos" of Sarapis. This need not mean that he was responsible for the original foundation of the temple, but as Jouguet rightly observes (Trois Etudes, 123, n.1): "Pour le moment, on ne peut douter que Ptolémée III n'ait ordonné des constructions importantes, peut-être les plus importantes." For the Alexandrian temple see Calderini, Dizionario I, 1935, 140–6; for the temple at Memphis, Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, pp. 7 ff.

[6] After reciting the typical miracles of Sarapis, Aristides 45, 29–30, ed. Keil, adds that temple libraries furnish examples without limit and applies to Sarapis the opening verses of Aratus' Phaenomena: "Full are the markets, says the poet, and the harbors and the city squares of those who recount his exploits in detail." P. Oxy. XI, 1382, 2nd cent. A.D., states that "this miracle is deposited in the libraries of Mercurius." Cf. Weinreich, Neue Urk. z. Sarapisrel., Tübingen, 1919, 13 f.; Höfler, Sarapishymnus d. Ailios Aristeides (= Tübinger Beitr. 27, 1935) 103 f.; Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 84.

[7] Anrich, Antikes Mysterienwesen, 44. The long road that Sarapis had travelled

pagan challenge to the god of the Christians, who replied with the destruction of his colossal statue at Alexandria in 391.[8] After seven hundred years of expanding sovereignty Sarapis fell victim, with some excuse, to the most powerful and durable religious movement that the western world has ever known.

The outstanding feature of the Hellenized Egyptian cults of Isis, Osiris, and Sarapis was their possession of mysteries, not the old Egyptian "mysteries," which reënacted the ancient myth of the dismemberment of Osiris by Set, the grief and wanderings of Isis in her search for his body, and his magical resurrection at her hands, but new symbolic mysteries that suggest a fresh and more subtle spirit.[9] What these might be we see most clearly in the eleventh book of the Metamorphoses of Apuleius. His hero, Lucius, is inducted into the rites of Isis at Corinth. What is put before his eyes is a beautiful and terrifying, yet consoling, symbolism. He is taken to the very threshold of Hades, passes through all the elements and returns. At midnight he sees the sun radiant with light. He adores the upper and nether gods face to face.[10] The parallel with the Greek mysteries of Eleusis is unmistakable.[11] Subsequently, at Rome, Lucius is initiated into the mysteries of Osiris, but we are given no details, probably because

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since his separation from Osiris-Apis is signalized in the solar formula Ζεὺς Ἥλιος Σάραπις (Weinreich, Neue Urkunden, 9, 14, 27ff.), which cannot be traced back beyond the 2nd cent. A.D. (Peterson, Εἷς Θεός, Göttingen, 1926, 235f.). Ἥλιος Σάραπις occurs as early as 94 A.D. (Roeder, R.-E., 2te Reihe, I, 2421). Accompanying this movement toward a universal henotheism, if we may so distinguish 4th cent. paganism from Judaeo-Christian monotheism (Nock, Conversion, London, 1933, 158f.; Nilsson, H.T.R. XXXVI, 1943, 255f., on "Pantheos"), there was from the 2nd cent. an increasing emphasis on moral purity (Cumont, Religions orientales, 85f.).

[8] Theodoret, Hist. eccl. 5.22.4–6; cf. Weinreich, Neue Urkunden, 23f. The public life of Sarapis had been prolonged by Julian's emergence as imperial champion of paganism (361–3) just when the Christian forces were on the verge of total victory, but more especially by the internecine war of Athanasius and Arius.

[9] Nilsson, H.T.R. XXXVI, 1943, 269: "At all events the mysteries of Isis are not of purely Egyptian origin. The Egyptian cult of Osiris did not include mysteries and the next life was to the Egyptians not dependent on an initiation, but on the performance of funeral rites."

[10] Nock, Conversion, chap. IX; A.J.A. XLV, 1941, 578f.; Reitzenstein, Hellenist. Mysterienrel., Leipzig-Berlin, 1910, 28f.; De Jong, de Apuleio Isiacorum mysteriorum teste, Diss. Leyden, 1900, 99–133.

[11] Foucart, Mystères d'Éleusis, 401–3.

they did not differ radically from those of Isis.[12] For Sarapis we have the word of Aristides, in a prose-hymn to that deity, that he was the father of all mysteries.[13] This is, of course, the exaggeration characteristic of late syncretism, and in like fashion Isis was sometimes made the inventor of mysteries.[14] Aristides elsewhere hints, even if too briefly, at the form that the mysteries of Sarapis took in his time.[15] It is clear that their symbolism was of the kind associated with Isis in the account of Apuleius.

[12] Gressmann, Orient. Rel., 44. It is characteristic of the broad inclusiveness of paganism that initiations could be and were sometimes multiplied (Apuleius, Apol. 55; cf. Nock, Conversion, 114f. Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, Chicago, 1929, 31f.). Not many had the fervor or the means to justify the attention that Lucius received; he is not the ordinary initiate of public mysteries, but becomes one of a small élite (Nock, Conversion, 56f.; Nilsson, H.T.R. XXXVI, 1943, 273).

[13] Aristides 45.17 (ed. Keil): *καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ τελετὰς καὶ τιμὰς πάσας*; cf. Höfler, Sarapishymnus, 50ff.

[14] Nilsson, loc. cit.

[15] Aristides 49.48: *τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς τελετῆς*. Widely used for the performance of a *μυστήριον*, *τελετή* is purely a religious term (Zijderveld, Τελετή, Diss. Utrecht, 1934; cf. Nock, Conversion, 28). Aristides represents his knowledge of the rites as derived from a dream. That the dream is a literary device used to escape censure for public exposure of mysteries, hardly needs demonstration, but it is instructive to compare the curious hypothetical situation presented by Sopater (5th cent. A.D.; Rhet. Gr., ed Walz, 8, 110) in which a young man dreams that he has been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. So far as I know, the only documentary evidence that may point to mysteries of Sarapis is Mendel, B.C.H. XXIV, 1900, 366f.: *Σαράπιδι καὶ Εἴσιδι εὐχαριστήριον οἱ . . . μύσται καὶ δεκατισταί* (Prusa, 2nd. cent. A.D.). But *δεκαδισταί* and other words of the same kind were used much earlier on Delos for groups of devotees who assembled on the corresponding days of the month (Roussel, Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C., Paris-Nancy, 1915–16, pp. 100, 253). The suggestion lies close to hand, in view of the wording of the Bithynian inscription, that these also were *μύσται*. Although the extant evidence does not carry the mysteries of Sarapis back beyond the 2nd cent. A.D., they are probably much older. Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 75, is sceptical of their existence in the Ptolemaic period and points to the total absence of evidence. He means, of course, direct evidence, but this is to deny any value to the indirect evidence in Tacitus, Hist. 4.83, and Plutarch, de Is. et Osir. 28 (362A), or to the historical probabilities. Nock, Conversion, 56f., although using a negative statement, is closer to truth: "It is not clear that initiations of the later type had formed a part of the cult outside Egypt in the Hellenistic period. . . . To sum up, the cult was for the majority of its worshippers not a mystery cult, and in many places in the Hellenistic period proper it was not a mystery cult at all." Religious mysteries were deeply imbedded in Greek experience, and their chief exponent was the cult of Demeter at Eleusis in Attica. After Alexander mysteries were adopted widely by Greek cults everywhere. Nilsson, Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni X, 1934, 8, speaks of "l'inclination universelle de l'âge hellénistique pour les cultes mystiques." According to Tacitus and Plutarch it was Ptolemy Soter who brought the Eumolpid Timotheus from Eleusis to Alexandria and used him as well as Manetho in developing the new religion of Sarapis. Unless this was a mystery-cult long before the 2nd cent. A.D., the introduction of Timotheus into

The colossal statue of Sarapis set up in his temple at Alexandria was said to have been a cult image of Pluto brought down from Pontic Sinope.[16] It was surmounted by a calathus, a kind of harvest-basket associated also with the rites of Demeter at Eleusis,[17] and the rites of Sarapis, as we have seen, had a Greek cast. In general, Sarapis was meant to be a Greek god,[18] while his Egyptian predecessor, Osiris-Apis, remained always Egyptian.[19] To his other Greek equipment, Sarapis added quite early in his career the institution of the *kline* or banquet, which was a late extension of the Greek *theoxenion*, or table spread before the god.[20] At the banquet, as Aristides says, the god was at once

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the story is pointless (cf. Cumont, Religions orient., 91, 232, n. 4). Much depends on the source or sources used by these authors. The discussion, as it now stands, is not illuminating, but on two points there is an implied agreement: the tradition is perhaps as old as Sarapis himself and may be based on the official version. For the problem of the sources see Schmidt, R.G.V.V. VIII, pt. 2, 1909, chap. III.

[16] Tacitus, Hist. 4.83; Plutarch, de Is. et Osir. 28 (361F).

[17] Nilsson, Griech. Feste, Leipzig, 1906, 350–2; Jouguet, Trois études, 122; Roeder, R.-E., 2te Reihe, I, 2425.

[18] For the meaning of "Greek" in the late Hellenistic Age see the conclusion of this paper.

[19] Osiris-Apis had no career outside Egypt, any more than did his counterpart, Osiris-Mnevis, the bull-god of Heliopolis. The total separation of Sarapis from the animal form of his predecessor is a much deeper break with Egyptian thought than is generally allowed. If this had been the whole story, he would have been left with slight roots in native sentiment; as it was, he became the god without a myth (Roeder, R.-E., 2te Reihe, I, 2418; Weinreich, Neue Urkunden, 10). It was through identification with Osiris that Sarapis was restored to the main stream of Egyptian tradition. Gradually Sarapis replaced Osiris at the side of Isis, and it is significant that the *new* mysteries did not require the old myth, although they perpetuated its central notion of immortality obtained by identification with the god (Cumont, Religions Orient., 91f.). With regard to Delos, Nock, Conversion, 53, makes the interesting observation that "the worship introduced was not the original Memphite cult of Osorapis but the hellenized cult of Sarapis and Isis: even at this early time it took the credit of possessing immemorial antiquity." Sarapis had supplanted Osiris; Isis is the spouse of Sarapis (Roeder, R.-E., 2te Reihe, I, 2420). But like Osorapis (=Osiris-Apis), Osiris also continued his independent existence. Osiris and Sarapis were at once the same and not the same (cf. Plutarch, de Is. et Osir. 28 [362B]; Perdrizet, Terres cuites Fouquet, p. 73). At death an Egyptian became an Osiris, as before, never an Osorapis or a Sarapis. In the same way, as we know from Apuleius, Metamorph. 11, the mysteries of Osiris were not suppressed by the emergence of mysteries of Sarapis.

[20] Deneken, de Theoxeniis, Diss. Berlin, 1881; Schmidt, R.G.V.V. VIII, pt. 2, 1909, 105–8; Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus (=Müller's Handb. V, pt. 4, 421ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. A. 5. 2, art. Theoxenia (Pfister), 2256–8; Eitrem, Symb. Oslo. X, 1932, 34f. For κλίναι of Isis see Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. XI, art. Kline (2. Ziebarth), 861; Roussel, Cultes égyptiens, p. 285, n. 5. Nilsson, Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni X, 1934, 12, speaks of symposia and banquets as "si fréquents dans toutes les associations religieuses."

host and guest.[21] How far ritual was employed on such an occasion, we do not know, although we may assume that the god was honored with a sacrifice of some kind.[22] From Oxyrhynchus have come a number of invitations to private banquets of Sarapis.[23] Some of these may have been purely social in character,[24] but others are clearly offerings of thanksgiving to the god for some happy event, like a marriage or a coming of age.[25] Sometimes the guests were summoned to meet in a private house,[26] sometimes in a temple,[27] and not always a temple of Sarapis.[28] These invitations are all of the second or third century A.D., but at a much earlier time, between 220 and 166 B.C., on the island of Delos, groups of devotees met together on fixed days of the month at a temple of Sarapis.[29] When the banquet was sponsored by a temple, ritual doubtless played a larger part, and since it was basically a *theoxenion*, the god was probably represented by his cult image.[30]

[21] Aristides 45.27 (ed. Keil): *προιστάμενοι δαιτυμόνα αὐτὸν καὶ ἑστιάτορα.*

[22] Cf. Höfler, Sarapishymnus, 93–96; Nock, H.T.R. XXXVII, 1944, 150f. (n. 37, for additional references not used here; also Wilcken, Archiv. f. Pap. VI, 1920, 424). For *θυσία* as a sacrifice of incense in the Egyptian manner see Roussel, Cultes égyptiens, p. 286; cf. Roberts-Skeat-Nock, H.T.R. XXIX, 1936, 49; Nilsson, H.T.R. XXXVIII, 1945, 65.

[23] P. Oxy. I, 110; III, 523; XII, 1484; XIV, 1755; P. Oslo. III, 157 (with an important commentary).

[24] Milne, J.E.A. XI, 1925, 6–9, denies any religious character to the *κλῖναι* of the Oxyrhynchus invitations: they are dining clubs. This view is certainly extreme and rests largely on the confusion occasioned by imputing to the pagan mind our modern habit of restricting religion to "that which is not of this world." A more reasonable view is espoused by Schubart, Einführung, 356, 367; Wilcken, Archiv. f. Pap. VI, 1920, 424; Eitrem and Amundsen, P. Oslo. III, 157, introd.

[25] P. Oxy. XII, 1484: *ὑπὲρ μελλοκουρίων* (see editors' note). The religious motivation comes out clearly in Archiv. f. Pap. II, 1903, 447, No. 76 (Commodus): Crispinus, a soldier, was commanded in a dream *τὸ συνπόσιν ποιῆσαι [τοῦ κ]υρίου Σεράπιδος*, and this he did *εὐχαριστήσας*.

[26] P. Oxy. III, 523: *ἐν τοῖς Κλαυδ(ίου) Σαραπίω(νος)*, P. Oslo. III, 157: *ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ οἰκίᾳ.*

[27] P. Oxy. I, 110: *ἐν τῷ Σαραπείῳ*; XIV, 1755: *ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Σαραπείου.* The Gnomon of the Idiologus 88 (commentary in B.G.U. V, pt. 2, p. 93), mentions sacrifices *ἐκ κ[λί]νης*, in the consumption of which the *παστοφόροι*, but not the *προφῆται*, might share (cf. Schubart, Einführung, 367). An Oxyrhynchus temple-account (P. Oxy. VIII, 1144, 6; late 1st — early 2nd cent. A.D.) has an entry for *δαπάνης ἱερᾶς κλεί[νης]*, evidently a *κλίνη* sponsored by the temple. In P. Tebt. III, i, 765, 1–2, someone wished to send *ε[ἰς] τὸ ἱερὸν κλείνην καὶ τύλην* (cf. Bottigelli, Aegyptus XXII, 1942, 250).

[28] P. Oxy. XII, 1484; *ἐν τῷ Θ[ο]ηρίῳ.*

[29] Roussel, Cultes égyptiens, pp. 100, 253, 285.

[30] Höfler, Sarapishymnus, 93ff.; P. Oslo. III, 157, introd.

Aristides speaks also of festal dances,[31] and it is hard to imagine a Greek banquet without libations for the god [32] and garlands for the guests.[33]

A new text on papyrus in the Michigan Collection makes a small but welcome contribution to the background of a cult banquet. The banquet is here brought into connection with initiation in the mysteries.[34] Perhaps more significant, however, is the opportunity afforded by the papyrus of testing within the limited scope of the text the Greek character of the god and his cult. The papyrus was recovered at Karanis, a village on the northeast rim of the Fayyum depression.[35] It was written in the early part of the third century of the Christian era at a place of Sarapis worship, presumably either at the great Sarapeum west of Memphis or at Arsinoë, the chief city of the Fayyum.[36]

[31] Aristides 45.27 (ed. Keil); cf. Höfler, op. cit. 96f. For the dance as a religious practice see Oesterley, The Sacred Dance, New York, 1923; Latte, R.G.V.V. XIII. pt. 3, 64ff.; Nilsson, Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni X, 1934, 13.

[32] On the extensive background of the Greek libation see Tolles, Banquet-Libations of the Greeks, Bryn Mawr, 1943; for libations in the cult of Sarapis, Roussel, Cultes égyptiens, pp. 286f. Libations and prayer are stipulated for the monthly banquet of a society of Zeus Hypsistos (Roberts-Skeat-Nock, H.T.R. XXIX, 1936, 40, l. 9; with commentary, 49). Ptolemagrius boasts of numerous libations poured to Phoebus Apollo at feasts given by him twice yearly to the whole people of Panopolis (Guéraud, Annales du service XXXIX, Cairo, 1939, 292f., Col. 4, 4f.; Milne, Cat. Gén. Caire, 1905, 50).

[33] Köchling, R.G.V.V. XIV, pt. 2, 1914, 45ff.; Breccia, Musée Égypt. III, 1915, 13–25; Perdrizet, Terres cuites Fouquet, Paris, 1921, No. 336.

[34] A dining club of initiates may be attested by the inscription from Prusa (see footnote 15).

[35] Now Kom Aushim.

[36] A desert road some 35 miles long ran from Karanis via Bacchias and Sakkarah to the Sarapeum west of Memphis (P. Fay., p. 195; Petrie, A Season in Egypt, 33). The distance from Karanis to Arsinoë was about half that, and a Sarapeum was established there also (Wessely, Sitz. Akad. Wiss. Wien CXLV, 1902, 41; Brady, Missouri Studies X, 1935, No. 1, 45. Aristides 45.32 [ed. Keil] says that Egypt had 42 Sarapea; for the possible significance of the number see Höfler, Sarapishymnus, 110). Ptolemaeus' use of *ἀνα-* and *κατα-* in compounds is suitable for either place. *ἀνα-* marks the ascent from the valley to the desert plateau, *κατα-* the descent from the desert to the low-lying valley, e.g., in going between the city of Memphis and the Sarapeum (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, 2, 22–23; 120, 1–2, 13–14; 122, 9; also pp. 174, n. 7–8, 320, n. 10). Within the nomes, *ἀνα-* indicates movement from village to city, *κατα-* from city to village, as between Karanis and Arsinoë (Wilcken, Chrest. 495, introd.; Westermann, J.E.A. X, 1924, 136). Because of another, and the most usual, meaning of these prefixes in Egypt, *ἀνα-* and *κατα-* for up and down the river, i.e., southward and northward, Alexandria is excluded. This usage would not exclude centers of Sarapis worship like Oxyrhynchus and Abydus, but the distances are too great. Ptolemaeus is con-

P. Mich. Inv. 4686

Πτολεμαῖος τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν.
γεινώσκειν σε θέλω καὶ τὴν μη-
τέρα μου ὅτι σιωπητικοῦ τῆς
κλείνης (δραχμαὶ) κδ̄ καὶ τόπου ἄλλαι (δραχμαὶ) κβ̄.
λογισάμενος οὖν ἦρκα ἀγορανο-
μίαν ἵνα μήτε σιωπητικοῦ μήτε
τόπου δῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διπλᾶ μέρη λαμ-
βάνω καὶ χορηγῶ αὐτοῖς ξύλα.
ἀπ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν οὖν φρόντισον καὶ
ἐὰν ἀναβῇς λήμψῃ τὸ ναῦλον
τῶν ὄνων. χρεία γάρ ἐστιν ε̄
γόμων. ἐὰν δὲ χρεία μου ἦν πέμ-
ψεν μοι φάσιν καὶ καταβήσομαι
μετὰ ἄλλων δύο φίλων ἵνα μὴ σὺ
κοπιᾷς. καὶ γὰρ ἀντιπῖν ἄνθρωπος
οὐ δύναται τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι. ἄλλη
γὰρ δίμηνός ἐστιν ὡς τῆς
κλείνης. ἐὰν δύνῃ τῷ σῷ ὄνῳ
ἀνενέγκαι αὐτά, ἀνένεγκον καὶ
εὑρήσῃς εἰς τὴν δαπάνην σου
τὰς δραχμάς.

2nd hand ἔρρωσσο

2. γινώσκειν. 4. κλίνης. 12-13. πέμψον. 15. ἀντειπεῖν. 18. κλίνης. 20. εὑρήσεις. 22. ἔρρωσο.

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cerned for his father's health (ll. 14–15, *ἵνα μὴ σὺ κοπιᾷς*), and one has the impression that he asks his father to bring the wood because he is not too far away. The text leaves it uncertain whether his father has only one donkey or more (ll. 10–11, *τὸ ναῦλον τῶν ὄνων*; 18, *τῷ σῷ ὄνῳ*), but however it was, a single trip from Karanis to Oxyrhynchus with five donkeys or five trips with one donkey (ll. 11–12, *χρεία γάρ ἐστιν ε̄ γόμων*) would be a heavy task even for a younger man. The management of five loaded donkeys over a distance of only 35 miles, as from Karanis to Memphis, might exceed the powers of one driver (Youtie, T.A.P.A. LXXIII, 1942, 83, n. 77). The journey would require at least one day's hard travelling and so would probably extend into a second day (Pearl, T.A.P.A. LXXI, 1940, 377, n. 14). If Ptolemaeus' father has only one donkey, five round trips would be required within two months (l. 17, *δίμηνος*). With Ptolemaeus farther away than Memphis, the project becomes impractical.

Translation

"Ptolemaeus to his father, greeting. I want you and my mother to know that the charge for *siōpētikou* of the banquet is 24 drachmae and for a place another 22 drachmae. After consideration, therefore, I have taken up the post of *agoranomos* so that I need not pay the charge for *siōpētikou* nor for a place; but also I receive double portions and I provide them [37] with wood. For this reason, then, give the matter thought, and if you come up you will receive the freightage for the donkeys. For there is need of 5 loads. If you need me, send me word, and I will come down, with two friends as well, in order that you may not tire yourself. For a man cannot refuse our lord Sarapis. It is another two months until the banquet. If you are able to bring up the wood with your donkey, bring it up, and you will get the money to cover your expense. (2nd hand) Farewell."

Of the two fees that Ptolemaeus would normally pay, the smaller is "for a place" at the banquet.[38] Less perspicuous is the name given to the larger fee, σιωπητικοῦ. This adjective, derived from a word meaning "silence," [39] is unknown to classical and

[37] Greek αὐτοῖς without antecedent, but it doubtless refers to the persons in charge of the κλίνη.

[38] τόπος was as unrestricted in its range of meaning as English "place." Bell, H.T.R. XXXVII, 1944, 196, notes its use for lodgings in P. Oxy. XVIII, 2190; for a colonnade connected with a dining hall in Sammelbuch III, 6823; for a religious community in P. Oxy. XII, 1492. Roberts-Skeat-Nock, H.T.R. XXIX, 1936, 45f., have discussed in some detail its use to designate a topographical division (city, town, village, hamlet) as well as a temple or meeting place within a temple. As used in connection with a κλίνη at a Sarapeum, it might refer to the entire precinct or only to the banqueting hall (δειπνητήριον, P. Fay., p. 33; cf. P. Oslo. III, 157, p. 247, n. 1), but a closer interpretation is possible. τόπος may indicate an individual place at a banquet, as in Luke 14.9–10. That places were assigned is clear from P. Mich. V, 243 (Tiberius), where each participant has his own place (τοῦ ἰδίου τόπου) and a small fine is imposed on anyone who attempts to occupy the place of another. A similar rule was applied by the Iobacchi (Dittenberger, S.I.G. III, 1109, 74). In P. Mich. V, 246 (early 1st cent. A.D.) 15 members of a guild of Hippocrates are assigned places in order. The list is headed by the ἡγούμενος, who contributes sacrificial offerings, while the rest contribute sums of money ranging from 10 to 24 drachmae. Note that the amount reported by Ptolemaeus for τόπος, 22 drachmae, comes within this scale of prices.

[39] For a brief discussion of the -τικος suffix see Palmer, Grammar of Post-Ptolemaic Papyri, London, 1946, 37. σιωπητικός can be derived from σιωπάω or σιωπή.

Hellenistic Greek, which use other forms,[40] and only four instances are recorded in our lexicons from Byzantine literature, ranging from Athanasius in the fourth century to John Climax in the sixth.[41] The papyrus provides a fifth, and the earliest, example from the third century.[42]

The only existing clue to the meaning of this word [43] in con-

[40] *σιωπηλός*, less often *σιωπηρός*. Both forms survive in modern Greek.

[41] It is naturally omitted from the 9th edition of Liddell and Scott, which does not pretend to offer guidance for the Byzantine period; but it is listed without references in the 8th edition, where the comment is restricted to "*taciturn*, Byz." Sophocles' Greek Lexicon supplies a reference to Apophth. Patrum (=Patr. Gr. LXV) 341C: *ἐὰν ἦς σιωπητικός, ἔξεις ἀνάπαυσιν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ οὗ ἐὰν οἰκήσῃς.* Stephanus' Thesaurus adds Johannes Climax 77 (=Patr. Gr. LXXXVIII, 713D): *μὴ γίνου ἄλογος σιωπητικός, ἑτέροις ταραχὴν καὶ πικρίαν προξενῶν*; Ephraem. Syr. (ed. Assemani) I, 240 B: *μὴ κληθῇς ἀνήκοος, σκληρὸς, πέρπερος ψίθυρος . . . ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑπήκοος, ἀληθινός σώφρων, σιωπητικός κτλ.*; Athanas. (ed. Lopin-Montfaucon, 1698) II, pt. 2, 363B: *θέλε δὲ τοὺς παῖδας σιωπητικούς προβιβάζειν.* The reference in Stephanus to Iamblichus, de vita Pythagorae, 163, for *σιωπικούς* is false: the true text is *σιωπηλούς*, as read by Kuster, p. 139, note 27, and adopted by Deubner, p. 92.

[42] There appears to be no trace of *σιωπητικός* otherwise through the entire history of the Greek language. What happened is sufficiently clear. The strong tendency exhibited by post-classical Greek to form adjectives in *-κος* (Palmer, Grammar, 34–39) produced *σιωπητικός*, which came into use sporadically from the 3rd to the 6th century but was not able to make serious headway against *σιωπηλός*, itself not too frequently used. Preisigke, Wörterbuch d. gr. Papyri, does not list a single example of either word. The history of *σιγηλός* and *σιγητικός* presents a certain parallel, so far as may be judged from the limited evidence. Liddell-Scott-Jones, 9th ed., attests *σιγητικός* only from Hp. Decent. 3: *πρὸς τὰς ἀναστασιὰς σιγητικός*; this work was composed in the middle of the 4th cent. B.C. (Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. VIII, art. Hippokrates [Gossen], 1813.) The type-example of words that rode the wave of the *koine* but failed to survive is *οὐθείς*, which was "practically the only form in use throughout the Greek-speaking world during iii/B.C. and the first half of ii/B.C." (Thackeray, Grammar of the O.T. in Greek, Cambridge, 1909, 58–62).

[43] The Byzantine *silentiarius* (=*ἡσυχοποιός*, Loewe, Corp. Gloss. Lat. II, 325), whose duty it was to maintain order and silence at the meetings of the imperial consistory (Dunlap, Mich. Hum. Stud. XIV, 1924, 220; Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E., 2te Reihe, III, art. Silentiarius [Seeck], 57f.) comes to mind in any consideration of a word that could pass as a translation of his title. Adjectives in *-τικος* may be transitive or intransitive (Debrunner, Wortbildungslehre, 199f.; Palmer, Grammar, 37. The transitive force is probably original in the root; cf. Glotta XII, 1923, 28f.; XIII, 1924, 135. Similar but not identical is the use of *σιγηλός* for Narcissus; his sad fate inspired a fearful silence in those who passed his tomb [Strabo 9.2.10, *ἐπειδὴ σιγῶσι παριόντες*; Alciphron 3. 58 (22). 3, *τρέμε ἐνδακὼν τὸ χεῖλος, ὡς οἱ τὸν Σίγηλον ἥρω παριόντες*]). His office, however, was not instituted before Diocletian, so that the name given to him cannot have influenced Greek usage in the early part of the third century. Cumont, A.J.A. XXXVII, 1933, 262, likewise rejects an equivalence of the Bacchic *σιγηταί* with the private *silentiarii*, "les esclaves chargés de clore la bouche à leurs compagnons," an older and unofficial use of the word, on the ground that the 23 *σιγηταί* listed in the Bacchic inscription in the

nection with a cult banquet is to be found in a text on stone published a little over ten years ago.[44] It is a lengthy inscription of the second century, discovered in the Roman Campagna and now in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum, and records almost four hundred initiates of a society devoted to the cult of Bacchus. These are listed in groups under titles in the order of their importance. At the very end of the inscription are twenty-

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Metropolitan Museum are too many monitors for one society. At the same time, one is tempted to use the underlying idea, "he who imposes silence," as an explanation of *σιωπητικός*, because banquets sponsored by individuals, cult societies, trade guilds, and social clubs in Egypt had moderators, regularly the president (*ἐπιμελητής, ἡγεμών, ἡγούμενος, κεφαλαιωτής, κλινάρχης, προστάτης*) or his assistant (*βοηθός, ὑπηρέτης*). See Boak, T.A.P.A. LXVIII, 1937, 213f.; Roberts-Skeat-Nock, H.T.R. XXIX, 1936, 50, 83; San Nicolò, Ägypt. Vereinswesen, Munich, 1915, II, 77f.; Westermann, J.E.A. XVIII, 1932, 23. At two annual festivals of Naucratis (Hermias ap. Athen. 4.149D-F) the banquet was supervised by a *ἱεροποιός*, "manager of the festival" (Gulick), evidently here a municipal magistrate (Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. VIII, art. Hieropoioi [Oehler], 1583ff.). The same title was used by an insignificant servants' club at Philadelphia (Fayyum) in the later Ptolemaic period: *συνήχθησαν . . . διὰ ἱεροποιοῦ* (Edgar, Raccolta Lumbroso, 369–376), and by a club at Tebtunis, whose members make contributions for *ἱεροποῖα* (P. Tebt. III, ii, 894, introd.; ca. 114 B.C.). See also footnote 55. At semi-annual banquets given in honor of Apollo at Panopolis by Ptolemagrius, the owner of a flourishing grove, to the people of the town, the moderators (*ἄρχοντες*) were priests (Guéraud, Annales du service XXXIX, 1939, 293, Col. IV, 3f.). The ritual silence imposed by the Iobacchi could be broken only with priestly permission (Dittenberger, S.I.G. III, 1109, 107–110): *μηδεὶς δ' ἔπος φωνείτω μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῦ ἱερέως ἢ τοῦ ἀνθιερέως*. Cf. San Nicolò, op. cit. 57f. None of these officials, however, held so highly specialized a title as would the moderator of the banquet in our papyrus. It reminds us rather of the rôle played by a lesser personage, the *εὔκοσμος*, in the society of the Iobacchi at Athens, whose duty it was to place the thyrsus beside members guilty of unseemly conduct and thus mark them for expulsion from the meeting place (Dittenberger, III, 1109, 136–139, with note 49). The *ῥαβδοφόροι* performed a like function at Andania (ibid. II, 736, x). Philo, adv. Flaccum 17, probably does not exaggerate the tumult of the usual social banquet at its height, although he is a prejudiced observer. Roberts-Skeat-Nock, op. cit. 53, point to a confirmatory passage in Athenaeus 10.420E-F. Athenaeus is approximately contemporary with the writer of our papyrus, and a little later Tertullian, Apol. 39.14–19, holds a very low opinion of the moral quality of pagan banquets, among which he includes those of Sarapis. Nothing was so necessary as a strong man to keep peace among the diners. And yet a minor official was not likely to give his name to one of two contributions, and the larger one at that, demanded of those who wished to attend a banquet.

In rejecting *σιωπητικός*= "he who imposes silence" we may take account also of Cumont's remark on *σιγηταί*: "Faut-il comprendre ceux qui imposent ou ceux qui observent le silence? Grammaticalement les deux sens sont admissibles, bien que le second soit le plus probable" (A.J.A. XXXVII, 1933, 262); but see also Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. XVI, pt. 2, art. Mysterien (Hopfner), 1310.

[44] Vogliano-Cumont-Alexander, A.J.A. XXXVII, 1933, 215–270; cf. Nilsson, Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni X, 1934, 1–18.

three persons called *σιγηταί*. This name has not occurred elsewhere at all and, like *σιωπητικός* in the papyrus, may in theory designate either those who impose silence on others or those who are silent. From their position, nevertheless, at the foot of the inscription Cumont has rightly inferred that they occupy the bottom rung of the Dionysiac ladder, and he concludes with much probability that their initiation is only partial: they must pass through a probationary period during which they are limited to a passive rôle in the ceremonies of the society.[45] The *σιγηταί* are in fact silent, and *σιωπητικοί* would be as good a name for them as *σιγηταί*.[46]

As a counterpart to Cumont's class of silent novices in the Bacchic cult of the Campagna, we may posit a similar group in a contemporary cult of Sarapis in middle Egypt. This correlation has the advantage of relying on the only meaning so far attested for *σιωπητικός*, "a person who is silent." The phrase on the papyrus can be rendered literally "24 drachmae for a silent member of the banquet," [47] or, when we recall that *κλίνη* is used not only for a banquet but also for the society whose meetings take the form of banquets,[48] "24 drachmae for a novice of the society." Ptolemaeus is then one of a group of Sarapiastae, men devoted in a special degree to the worship of Sarapis. Whether the banquet was open only to initiates, and how large or small the group was, we of course cannot know, but the fact that it meets during a festival, as we shall see subsequently, and that most festivals recurred annually, suggests that Ptolemaeus may

[45] Ibid., 262f. Cumont notes the parallel with new disciples of Pythagoras, who were pledged to silence for five years (ibid., 263 and n. 6); Plutarch, Moral. 519C: *ἔταξε τοῖς νέοις πενταετῆ σιωπήν, ἐχεμυθίαν προσαγορεύσας*; Suidas, s.v. *σιωπή*; Casel, R.G.V.V. XVI, pt. 2, 54f. On sacred silence see Mensching, R.G.V.V. XX, pt. 2, 86 (Greek), 102 (Roman); Arist. Jud. 95 (Jewish); Schmidt, R.G.V.V. IV, pt. 1, 66ff.; with special reference to Rome, Savage, T.A.P.A. LXXVI, 1945, 157–165. The mystic silence is illustrated with a number of Greek passages by Cumont, op. cit. 262, nn. 3–4. On the rôle of silence in late paganism see Nilsson, Rev. of Religion, Jan. 1947, 119; in Hermetic thought, Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, 215.

[46] There is no record of *σιωπητής*.

[47] In omitting the preposition *ὑπέρ* with *σιωπητικοῦ* and *τόπου* the writer has been influenced by the syntax characteristic of lists and accounts (Völker, Artikel, Münster, 1903, 8f.).

[48] Philo, adv. Flaccum 17, equates *σύνοδοι* and *κλῖναι* with *θίασοι*. Cf. Poland, Griech. Vereinswesen, 152.

have entered its ranks at the last meeting and now almost have completed a probationary period of a year. This would correspond very well to the requirement of a year's delay between the first and second initiations at the ancient Greek mysteries of Eleusis.[49] These were almost certainly not enacted outside of Attica,[50] but the prestige of Eleusis would lend to its practice the value of precedent.[51]

If we have, with Cumont's help, uncovered an unexpected and highly specialized use of a simple Greek word, we have also introduced a new, if not unexpected factor into the religion of Sarapis. That Sarapis, like Isis and Osiris, sponsored rites of initiation, was already known,[52] but grades of initiation, as in the mysteries of Demeter, Dionysus and Mithras,[53] were not attested in the cult of Sarapis.[54]

In place of paying the two fees for participation in the banquet, Ptolemaeus has undertaken to discharge the duties of agoranomus,[55] and in return for supplying five loads of wood, he will receive double portions at the banquet.[56] This privilege

[49] Anrich, Antikes Mysterienwesen, 9f. (esp. 9, n. 3).

[50] P. Oxy. XIII, 1612, introd.; Deubner, Sitz. Heid. Akad., 1919, Abh. 17, 10. Cf. Foucart, Mystères d'Éleusis, 263f. Otto, Priester u. Tempel, 265, n. 1, rejects the assumption that the Eleusinian mysteries were introduced into Egypt, but does not deny that the cult of Demeter was popular there. Nilsson (Griech. Feste, 350; H.T.R. XXXVI, 1943, 270) takes the common view that the Eleusinian mysteries came to Alexandria with Timotheus, seemingly a misinterpretation of Tacitus, Hist. 4.83.

[51] For Eleusinian influence on the Dionysiac cult, see Cumont, A.J.A. XXXVII, 1933, 232f., 239, 241, 243, 253; on Samothrace, Nock, A.J.A. XLV, 1941, 577.

[52] See footnotes 13, 15.

[53] Foucart, Mystères d'Éleusis, 272; Cumont, A.J.A. XXXVII, 1933, 258, 263; id., Monuments relatifs au Culte de Mithra, Bruxelles, 1899, I, 314f.

[54] A probationary period for the *mystes* of Isis is clearly implied in Metamorph. 11.19: aedibusque conductis intra consaeptum templi Larem temporarium mihi constituo deae ministeriis adhuc privatis appositus contuberniisque sacerdotum individuus et numinis magni cultor inseparabilis. Cf. Reitzenstein's illuminating discussion of Lucius' status during this period (Hellenist. Mysterienrel., 25ff.), although his attempt to see a catochus in Lucius cannot be sustained (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 75).

[55] Polycrates writes to his father Cleon, the royal engineer of the Fayyum, in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.: *γίνωσκέ με τὴν ἱεροποΐαν ὠικονομημέ[νον]* (Mahaffy, P. Petrie II, 11 (2) = Wilcken, Chrest. 223). On the hieropoios see footnote 43. Polycrates' appointment was also probably for a single festival and he may have received some equivalent of his services, as did Ptolemaeus (Mahaffy, ibid.; Witkowski, Epist. priv., 2).

[56] The value of the double portions is much increased by the fact that his assumption of the agoranomia exempts him from payment. The technical term is

gives a clear idea of the importance attached to his services. At Naucratis, for example, double portions of wine and food were allotted at municipal festivals of Pythian Apollo and of Dionysus only to the priests of these deities.[57] At Methymna on Lesbos a certain Praxicles was rewarded for his philanthropic supervision of a civic organization with a double portion of all sacrifices,[58] and in Caria a priest received a double portion at all ritual meals.[59] In a list of priests and priestesses from Eleusis some are marked as receiving a double, others a single portion from the sacrifices.[60] Sometimes, sons or daughters of participants were granted "up to a half portion."[61] Normally, of course, a member received one portion, and tradition put a stamp of distinction on anyone who was favored with two portions.

The wood which thus becomes part of Ptolemaeus' obligations must be brought in from outside,[62] and it is to induce his father to deliver it that Ptolemaeus wrote his letter. He promises his father compensation.[63] The undertaking was a serious one be-

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ἀσύμβολος, and the exemption is ἀτέλεια (Dittenberger, S.I.G. III, 1109, 6). Normally this privilege was conferred as an honor in view of past services. A society of Tyrian Heracles (2nd cent. B.C.) decreed that one of its members should be free of dues in perpetuity (Foucart, Assoc. Relig., 39f., 224 [44], cf. 227 [45, 114]). In P. Petrie III, 136, i, 11–12, no συμβολή is recorded for the ἱερεύς and the δεύτερος ἱερεύς (cf. Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 439, n. 1). These ἀσύμβολοι *honoris causa* are to be distinguished from the visitors at village clubs who were ἀσύμβολοι or ἀφέσιμοι because their hosts paid for their dinners (cf. Edgar, Raccolta Lumbroso, 372; San Nicolò, Vereinswesen, II, 167, n. 2.).

[57] Hermias ap. Athen. 4.149D: τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ διπλοῦς ὁ οἶνος μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων δίδοται. On μερίς and μέρος see Poland, Vereinswesen, 258. Nock, H.T.R. XXXVII, 1944, 141, refers to Plutarch, Prov. Alex. (ed. Crusius, Progr. Tüb., 1887), pp. 11f. (text; cf. preface, xvii), for an amusing account of how the custom of portions originated. For a divergent explanation preserved in Athenaeus see Crusius' commentary, 53.

[58] διμοιρία: Dittenberger, O.G.I.S. 78 (221–205 B.C.).

[59] Hula-Szanto, Sitz. Akad. Wiss. Wien CXXXII, 1895, 23.

[60] Foucart, Mystères d'Éleusis, 222.

[61] Ferguson, H.T.R. XXXVII, 1944, 74f. and n. 17.

[62] This would be true whether the banquet was to take place at the great Sarapeum west of Memphis, which lay on the edge of the desert and was devoid of *flora* as it was of water (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, pp. 17, 382), or at Arsinoë, the capital of the nome, where wood might be bought but certainly not cheaply.

[63] The Greek is ambiguous. From whom and for what will the father receive the δαπάνη? The reimbursement must come from Ptolemaeus, for when he writes χορηγῶ αὐτοῖς ξύλα, this can only mean that he will supply wood to the temple — αὐτοῖς has no expressed antecedent — without compensation. Whether Ptolemaeus promises to pay his father for the wood or only for the transportation, does not emerge readily from the text but is of less importance.

cause a banquet of any size could not be prepared without a liberal supply of wood, and wood was never plentiful in Egypt.[64] The festival ritual of the temple, the sacrifice preceding the dinner, the dinner itself, the construction of ceremonial furniture, the water for purificatory ablutions — all required wood.[65] Two letters of the Zenon archive, written shortly after the middle of the third century B.C., are orders to Zenon to send by boat to Alexandria and to Memphis as much wood as he can get together for festivals of Isis.[66] An inscription from Ceos shows a guild of Sarapiastae honoring a benefactor who lent them money without interest for buying wood.[67] Wood was indispensable and the honor of receiving double portions at the banquet was a fair exchange.

Of special interest is Ptolemaeus' decision to take on the duties of an agoranomus, an official well-known to us in the Greek cities of Egypt — Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais, Antinoöpolis.[68] These were municipal officials serving a liturgy in the usual Greek way and members of the municipal council. Their primary activity, the supervision of markets, was what it had always been in the Greek islands and on the Greek mainland. They licensed the merchants who took stalls in the market, they watched for violations of the price scale, they examined weights and measures.[69] Normally, however, their duties were broader than their title indicated. Like the Roman aedile, to whom they are often compared, they might be entrusted with supervision of public works and buildings.[70] When important festivals were being planned,

[64] Schnebel, Landwirtschaft im hellenist. Ägypten (=Münch. Beiträge VII, 1925), 292.

[65] Poland, Vereinswesen, 258 (n. 2), 393, 466; cf. Dittenberger, S.I.G., II, 736, xxii.

[66] P. Cair. Zen. II, 59154 (=Select Papyri I, 90): *κορμοὺς ὅτι πλείστους καὶ παχυτάτους*; 59191: *σχίζας ὅτι πλ[ε]ίστας.*

[67] I.G. XII (5), 606. Cf. P. Oxy. VIII, 1144, 15: *ξύλων εἰς θυσίαν.*

[68] We have no reason here to concern ourselves with the notarial agoranomi, functionaries established in the metropolis of each nome for the registration of legal documents from the 3rd cent. B.C. (Gerhard, Philologus LXIII, 503; Mitteis, Grundzüge, 58). They are without parallel in earlier Greek history and are not to be confused with the municipal agoranomi (see footnote 70).

[69] For a lively, imaginative picture of the bustle and confusion of the agora, see Glotz, Ancient Greece at Work, New York, 1926, 289f.: "the *Agoranomoi* do not know to whom to listen." For the agora as a center of activity at the time of a great fair or festival (panegyris), see Nilsson, Greek Popular Religion, 100.

[70] Häderli, Jahrb. f. cl. Ph., Supplb. 15, 1887, 47–94; Jouguet, Vie municipale,

they might be asked, in view of the great crowds that were drawn to these spectacles, to undertake similar duties in the temple precinct. By a decree of Messenia in 92 B.C. the agoranomus of that place was directed to act as overseer of the market, keep an eye on the water supply, and regulate the baths during the celebration of the mysteries at nearby Andania.[71] In 85 A.D. an agoranomus of Elis was considered worthy of an expression of gratitude for his services from the world athletic association under whose auspices the Olympic games were staged.[72] At Ilium each of the federated cities sent an agoranomus to share the labor at a great festival of Artemis. One of them supervised the sale of food stuffs and all other commercial articles and provided the services of a physician for any who were taken ill during the festivities.[73] Their contribution to the smooth progress of the event was thought to merit a certificate of commendation inscribed on stone in each of the cities which they represented.

The duties which Ptolemaeus accepted in order to be free of the banquet fees were similar to those performed by the agoranomus of Messenia, even if on a smaller scale, but there is a significant difference in their positions. For the agoranomus of Messenia the work at Andania was an extension of his work at home, but Ptolemaeus holds only a temporary appointment, like the agoranomi sent to the festival of Artemis in Ilium. As they represent the cities of the league, he appears to hold his authority from the city in which the festival and the banquet are to be held, whether this is the metropolis of the Arsinoite or of the neighboring Memphite nome.[74] While the probable tenure of

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327f.; Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. I, art. Agoranomoi (Oehler), 884; Oertel, Liturgie, 332f. The two kinds of agoranomi are distinguished by Jouguet as "agoranome-notaire" and "agoranome-édile." When Septimius Severus revised the organization of the Egyptian nomes in 200 A.D. (Milne, Egypt under Roman Rule, London, 1924, 141ff., 289ff.), the two agoranomic types — recorder and aedile — were probably brought under a single jurisdiction both in the nomes and in the Greek cities.

[71] Dittenberger, S.I.G. II, 736, xx-xxii: *ἀγορᾶς . . . ὕδατος . . . ἀλείμματος καὶ λουτροῦ.*

[72] Dittenberger-Purgold, Inscriften von Olympia, 436, 437.

[73] Dittenberger, S.I.G. II, 596 (ca. 200 B.C.): *κατασταθ]εὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ τοῦ Παριανῶν] ἀγορανόμος εἰς τὰ [νέα Παναθήν]αια.*

[74] The appointment of a private agoranomus by a temple is unlikely since the title is unknown outside of municipal government. The Thessalian agoranomus, while he corresponds to neither of the types referred to above, is nevertheless a

agoranomi was one year,[75] Ptolemaeus will not serve longer than the period of the festival, during which the banquet will take place.[76] Anything more than this would be a very bad bargain, considering that the total of his indebtedness is only forty-six drachmae, an amount readily earned by a mere laborer in the same number of days.[77] A popular festival of Sarapis or of Isis would attract large numbers of pilgrims, vacationers, and curiosity seekers.[78] Merchants and peddlers would come from far and near to take advantage of the fair.[79] All of them had to be lodged [80] and fed; baths had to be provided, and for these wood and water had to be supplied.[81] This situation set difficult con-

city official. Keil, Hermes XXXIV, 1899, 196f., has shown him to be the counterpart of the Athenian ἐπιστάτης.

[75] Oertel, Liturgie, 334. The municipal agoranomia was by the time of our papyrus a compulsory liturgy in Egypt (ibid., 332). There is also evidence pointing to a shorter term of 4 months. See Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E. I, art. Agoranomoi (Oehler), 883f.; A, 6, 2, art. Tralleis (Ruge), 2110.

[76] A festival would be the most opportune occasion for gathering people together at a large *kline*. Cf. Nilsson, Popular Greek Religion, 101: "The cult of the gods provided opportunities for assembling and feasting and for mutual intercourse between people from neighboring towns and even from all Greek countries."

[77] West, Class. Phil. XI, 305. In the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D., and so practically contemporary with Ptolemaeus, Heroninus was manager of an estate of Appian at Theadelphia and drew a monthly salary of 40 dr. (P. Lond. III, 1226, pp. 103f.; cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, Baltimore, 1936, 303). It is instructive to compare the high wages of musicians and actors working on contract for festivals. Their earning capacity was anywhere from 5 to 18 dr. a day, plus food and transportation (Westermann, J.E.A. X, 1924, 141).

[78] On the flow of pilgrims to the Memphite Sarapeum see Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, pp. 50f.; Höfler, Sarapishymnus, 72; to the Sarapeum at Abydus, Perdrizet-Lefebvre, Graffites grecs d'Abydos, Paris, 1919, xv. Typical are Harmais, who came once a year from his home in the Heracleopolite nome to offer a sacrifice at Memphis (U.P.Z. I, 122; 157 B.C.), and Hephaestion, who came in 168 B.C. together with his comrades, on his way home at the conclusion of the war with Antiochus IV, to show his gratitude to Sarapis for coming through safely (ibid. pp. 36, 51, Nos. 59, 60).

[79] Merchants were of course plentiful at Arsinoë (cf. Wessely, Sitz. Akad. Wiss. Wien CXLV, 1902, 43ff.), and the population of the great Sarapeum near Memphis was sufficient to support a number of resident merchants. Demotic contracts of 116–5 B.C. mention "Kaufleuten des Hauses des Osorapis (d.h. des Osiris-Apis-Tempels), die innerhalb des Tempelbezirks Häuser besassen" (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, pp. 17, 52).

[80] The Sarapeum and the city of Memphis were naturally prepared for these occasions. Apart from others, there were lodgings in the Anubium at the Sarapeum and next to the Aphrodisium in Memphis (U.P.Z. I, 120, 122; cf. p. 51).

[81] This situation is illuminated by the Ptolemaic accounts from the Sarapeum, in which the catochus Ptolemaeus is seen providing wood for cult purposes and receiving water supplied to him by the temple (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, pp. 17, 382).

ditions for an agoranomus to meet; experience, judgment, and application were required.

By way of summing up, it will be worthwhile to devote a few words to the religious status of Ptolemaeus. When he wrote his letter, the *kline* or banquet of Sarapis was two months away. How long a time he had previously been in residence, we cannot say, but he intends to remain at least during the following two months.[82] On the surface, his situation shows a close resemblance to that of the catochi, the so-called recluses of Sarapis, who remained at the Sarapeum from a few months to a life-time subject to the will of the god. Like Ptolemaeus, they might perform services for the temple and receive various allowances in return.[83] Between them and Ptolemaeus, however, there is some difference. In the papyri written by and about the catochi of Memphis, no mention is ever made of the mysteries of Sarapis,[84] whereas Ptolemaeus is a "silent one," a novice, like the σιγηταί of Bacchus, awaiting his final induction into the holy army of Sarapis.[85] Perhaps the most characteristic mark of the catochus was a self-imposed prohibition against leaving the precinct of the temple. Even urgent business in nearby Memphis could not lure him from his vow.[86] Ptolemaeus had certainly not accepted this restriction. He prefers not to break through the continuity of his novitiate, but he

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In connection with our immediate interest compare especially Sammelbuch V, 7617, 55: [ὕ]δωρ ταῖς ἡορταῖς.

[82] This is an inference drawn from his acceptance of the duties of the agoranomus, which would certainly involve him in considerable preparation before the festival begins, and from ll. 12–16 of the Greek text, which carry the implication that he would leave his post only to fulfill the demands of Sarapis.

[83] Although the life of the catochi at Memphis, so far as it is known from the sources, and the various theories concerning them have been carefully described and analyzed by Wilcken (U.P.Z. I, pp. 52–77), we remain in ignorance concerning their function in the religion of Sarapis because we do not know with certainty the religious mechanism by which they became catochi (ibid., p. 66) or how they differed *essentially* from others who lived at the Sarapeum for a longer or shorter time. We know only that unlike the priests and the pilgrims they did not leave the precinct of the temple (ibid., p. 65). Wilcken's final word: non liquet.

[84] Ibid., p. 75.

[85] Cf. Reitzenstein, Hellenist. Mysterienrel., 66ff.

[86] U.P.Z. I, pp. 62–65.

states categorically that the god is not to be thwarted. Sarapis requires from him a supply of wood for the festival. If his father cannot bring the wood to him, he and a few friends will make the journey to Karanis for it.

To be sure, several hundred years have elapsed since the catochi whom we know played out their strange and excited life at the Sarapeum. Ptolemaeus may, of course, be representative of the institution at a later time,[87] but he does, in fact, bring to mind more strongly, in his modest way, the experience of Lucius at Corinth. When Lucius resolves to attach himself to the service of Isis, he takes up residence in her temple, and there he remains until she admits him to initiation. There is delay and time passes, but at last Isis consents. The initiation is enacted, and the happy moment is crowned with a feast. Fixed now in the faith of his savior-goddess, Lucius no longer has any reason to remain at Corinth and goes on to Rome.[88] When Ptolemaeus' day of glory has come and gone, he will return, we may assume, to his home at Karanis.

Throughout this discussion one fact has become increasingly evident. The search for parallels has taken us to the Greek cities of Egypt or led us out of Egypt into the Greek mainland, the Greek islands, Greek Asia Minor, and into the Campagna, where an important Bacchic society with Greek antecedents[89] left a record of itself on a stone. When Ptolemaeus identifies himself as a novice in religious mysteries, assumes the office of agoranomus, supplies wood, and receives double portions at a cult banquet, he is following precedents that reach far back into the life of the Greeks before Alexander. Apart from temple ritual, which he does not mention, the pattern of the festival and of the banquet, as we glimpse them in his letter, is not specifically Egyptian.[90]

[87] Ibid., 70–72. The literary sources show a late trend toward ecstatic manifestations and asceticism; these are obviously foreign to Ptolemaeus.

[88] Apuleius, Metamorph. xi. 19ff.

[89] Cumont, A.J.A. XXXVII, 1933, 232f.

[90] Conceivably only minor changes might be required to turn an Egyptian into a Greek festival. Herodotus (2.48) saw a close resemblance between the Egyptian festival of Osiris and the Greek festival of Dionysus (Westermann, J.E.A. XVIII, 1932, 18). The κλίνη, like the practice of incubation and the ἐγκατοχή, is almost certainly Greek (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 95; Archiv. f. Pap. VI, 1920, 424).

Sarapis had once been the Egyptian Osiris-Apis, and he never lost contact with his origins; but he owed his independent existence to Greek initiative, and he was himself Hellenized, as such things were understood in those days. The cult of Sarapis at Memphis, hence all the more at Alexandria, was Greek; [91] it exhibited that proper mark of Hellenistic civilization, a peculiar, variable mixture of Greek and native elements. Ptolemaeus was himself a Graeco-Egyptian, the new Greek developed through three hundred years of Macedonian rule, the Greek of the Roman empire, and his god was of the same breed. With his many Egyptian as well as Greek devotees Sarapis provided a powerful impulse toward the Hellenization of Egypt, and through his cult societies he carried Greek ideas and practices into every inhabited center of the Graeco-Roman world.[92]

We shall not go far wrong if we suppose that the Hellenization of Egypt was the hope that motivated Ptolemy Soter's policy in sponsoring the newly fashioned Sarapis as the patron deity of his dynasty. Ptolemy's kingdom was of recent date, and it rested for support on a relatively small Greek population. To turn Egyptians into Greeks was to extend the base of his power, and in the intellectual climate of the day, a planned amalgamation

[91] Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 95, appears to distinguish the Egyptian cult at Memphis from the Greek cult at Alexandria, but his own list of concessions made at Memphis to the spirit of Hellenization that was initiated at Alexandria is impressive. It is useful in this connection to insist on the formal distinction between Hellenic and Hellenistic, between old Greek and later cosmopolitan Greek custom. After Alexander, the real situation is obscured by excluding native elements from the definition of *res Graecae*. Hellenistic civilization was precisely a more or less unstable fusion of things Greek and non-Greek. For an excellent characterization of Hellenism see Schubart, Religiöse Haltung d. früh. Hellenismus (=Der Alte Orient XXXV, pt. 2, 1937), 3–5.

The view that the Egyptians obliterated the worship of Sarapis in the 2nd cent. B.C. by "identifying him with Osiris and Apis and thus destroying his Greek nature" (Brady, Missouri Studies X, 1935, No. 1, 29) is a purely statistical reading of the evidence. Gods as well as men submit to varying fortunes. Sarapis was a new god and put in a long apprenticeship at the side of Isis, but everyone, whether Greek or Egyptian, knew from the first that he was the *Interpretatio Graeca* of Osiris-Apis (Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, p. 88). His name was not an invention; it was the form that Osor-hapi had taken in Greek. Ptolemy and his advisers were not cloaking a deception with a barbarous name (ibid., p. 87). By the second century it was at least a hundred years too late for calling attention to what had never been a secret.

[92] Brady, Missouri Studies X, 1935, No. 1, 43.

of these peoples could take no other direction. Sarapis was part of this larger plan.[93]

[93] Jouguet, Trois études, 55: "Dès le IIIe siècle on jurait par ces dieux, Isis et Sarapis, dans le serment dit 'royal'." Cf. Seidl, Der Eid, Diss. Munich, 1929, 12ff. Scholars have commonly sought to explain Ptolemy's fateful creation of the Greek Sarapis as an attempt to bridge the cultural and religious gulf between the Greek conquerors and the subject Egyptians (cf. Wilcken, U.P.Z. I, pp. 83–85), i.e., as a policy of amalgamation, but this would have suited Alexander (Tarn, Proc. Brit. Acad. XIX, 1933, 123ff.; for limits of Alexander's ideas on racial equality, Jouguet, op. cit., 41.) far better than his successors, who turned away from equalitarian ideas with the ingrained sense of Greek superiority (Schubart, Einführung, 339). There had come, however, to be another side to Greek dignity: the Hellene was not such by virtue of blood, but every man who spoke and thought with a Greek mind was a Hellene (Jüthner, Hellenen u. Barbaren, 44ff.; Jouguet, op. cit., 39). This view, which was one, and not the least important, of the consequences of Alexander's life, left the door wide open for the ambitious or enlightened "barbarian," and it was a view peculiarly suited to the political needs of the new Greek kingdoms established on foreign soil. With the establishment of Sarapis as the dynastic deity of Egypt (Gressmann, Oriental. Rel., 35), the Egyptian was offered, on equal terms with the Greek, a god properly his own but in Hellenistic dress. Those who accepted him would to that extent have achieved, whether consciously or not, an adaptation to the dominant Hellenism of the country and the time. The separation from native custom would be carried further by membership in a cult society, which was a usual complement to divine worship according to the Greek pattern. Westermann has written with thoughtful insight that "the organization of the private clubs, which appear in such numbers in Egypt, as elsewhere, after Alexander's time, whether connected with some cult or purely social and dissociated from religious practice, represents an element in the Mediterranean life of the Hellenistic period which has its source and inspiration in the imitation of Greek life" (J.E.A. XVIII, 1932, 27).

Nock, H.T.R. XXIX, 1936, 78ff., has found the Egyptian elements in cult societies so impressive that he describes the guild of Zeus Hypsistos at Philadelphia (?) as "an Egyptian form of organization." Rostovtzeff, Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic World, III, 1590, gives it as his opinion "that in the late Ptolemaic period the two types influenced each other, while in pre-Ptolemaic and early Ptolemaic times they may have existed side by side."

For a recent treatment, along the lines laid down by Tarn, of Alexander's cosmopolitan response to the problems of imperial government, see C. A. Robinson, Alexander the Great, New York, 1947.

THE STORY OF JONAH ON A MAGICAL AMULET

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The words of Jesus in Matt. 12.39–41 gave the story of Jonah an important place among Christian symbols, establishing it as a type of the resurrection of the Christ, and, through him, of all mankind. Its influence upon Christian thought is attested by the church writers from Justin on (Dial. 107–8). Tertullian supports the doctrine of resurrection in the flesh by various scriptural texts, among them the deliverance of Jonah, saying: ". . . quod Ionas devoratus a belua maris, in cuius alvo naufragia digerebantur, triduo post incolomis expuitur . . . cuinam fidei testimonium signant, nisi qua credi oportet haec futurae integritatis esse documenta?" Similarly Augustine, "Ut quid enim exceptus est ventre beluino et die tertio redditus nisi ut significaret Christum de profundo inferni die tertio rediturum?" [1]

Other examples could be cited; but the literary allusions to the story of Jonah are few as compared to the works of art that deal with it. More than two hundred such representations on frescoes, sculptures, and small objects were known to Dom H. Leclercq, whose comprehensive article leaves little for later gleaners to gather in.[2] The scenes depicted, whether together or singly, are almost always the swallowing of Jonah by the sea monster, the disgorging, and Jonah's rest under the shade of the gourd.

Works of art that have to do with the story of Jonah are scantily represented in American collections. In the Metropolitan Museum there is a small, crude, and much damaged sculpture, which was published by Dr. Walter Lowrie in 1901; the work is in marble, partly in relief, partly in the round, and is probably not earlier than the fourth century.[3] It shows a ship sailing to right with a crew of four men, a helmsman, almost completely destroyed, and

[1] Tert. de carnis resur. 58; August. de civ. Dei 18. 30. 2.

[2] "Jonas," in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie, VII, 2, 2572–2631 (hereafter referred to as "Leclercq"). Additional allusions to the Jonah story in the Fathers are listed at 2574.

[3] AJA 1901, 51–57, with two figures.

three sailors amidships, whose heads and shoulders are broken away. They are letting Jonah down into the water, feet first. His legs as far as the knees are already in the jaws of a sea monster which is more serpent than fish, as is usual in representations of this scene. A short distance away the creature is shown disgorging him. As in all early works dealing with the incident, Jonah is naked when thrown overboard; but when he rests under the gourd vine or a tree, he is sometimes clothed, and if an old drawing is to be trusted, a sarcophagus lid found in southern France shows him clothed when he is disgorged by the monster. The scene where he is swallowed is not shown on that sculpture.[4]

The circumstance that on the Metropolitan sculpture the prophet is devoured feet first is unusual. Almost always, as Leclercq shows, he enters the "great fish" head first and emerges in the same position.[5] It is possible that those artists who showed Jonah dropped feet first into the sea were working under the influence of a rabbinical tradition. According to certain Jewish legends the sailors were so reluctant to throw him overboard that they first tried dipping him into the sea up to his knees, whereupon the storm abated; but when they drew him back on board, the winds raged as before. Then they dipped him as far as his waist, and failing again to still the tempest, immersed him to his neck. Finally, since it was clear that there would be no relief while Jonah remained on the ship, they threw him over.[6]

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston possesses a gem with an incident of the story that is not usually represented (Fig. 1). The stone is a sard, now set in a ring.[7] In the center a ship with

[4] De Rossi, Bull. di archeol. crist, 1866, 46 (No. 3), 52; Leclercq 2612, Fig. 6303.

[5] Leclercq, 2573.

[6] A slightly simpler form of this legend may be read in the Zohar, 121a (Vol. II, 3 of M. Simon's translation published by the Soncino Press). L. Ginzberg, from whose Legends of the Jews I take the story (IV, 248), refers in his note (VI, 349, n. 29) to other rabbinical sources which are not accessible to me.

[7] Reg. No. 03.1008, Fig. 1 on the plate accompanying this article. For the privilege of republishing this gem I am indebted to the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, and especially to the kindness of Professor G. H. Chase. The stone is evidently the same as that published by Garrucci, Storia dell'arte cristiana, VI, Pl. 478, 28, described on p. 119; thence repeated without comment by Leclercq, DACL VI, 842, fig. 5070. Garrucci did not recognize Jonah in the standing figure, or even in the man seated under the tree. A better illustration appears in Early Christian and Byzantine Art (No. 561, Pl. 78), the catalogue of the exhibition

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

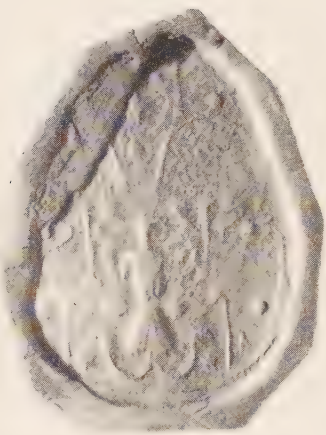

Fig. 3

Fig. 1. Sard in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. From a cast.

Fig. 2. Clay schist, formerly in the collection of E. T. Newell. From a plasticine impression reversed in printing. Obverse.

Fig. 3. Clay schist, formerly in the Newell collection. Reverse.

mast, close-reefed sail, and two steering oars moves to the left. The helmsman raises his hands in prayer as Jonah throws himself, head first, from the prow into the sea, where a sea monster, swimming from the right, is ready to devour him; the scene where the prophet is disgorged is not shown. At the right end of the stone, and slightly lower than the ship, Jonah is seated, clothed and resting his hands upon his staff, under an overarching tree, on the top of which a bird perches. At the left end, on the same level with the ship, stands a man facing right, with his hands raised as if gesturing as he speaks, or perhaps praying, though the attitude is not that of the typical *orans*. Except for its posture, the figure is like that seated on the right side of the stone. It must be meant for Jonah preaching at Nineveh (ch. 3.4) or praying (ch. 4.2). These moments are not usually represented; although Jonah's hands are occasionally shown raised in the attitude of an *orans* when the monster seizes him,[8] there is no certain example, other than this, of the prophet clothed and praying after his deliverance from the monster. There is a somewhat similar figure on a sarcophagus from Porto, but it is too damaged to be certainly identified.[9]

The representations of Jonah show few traces of paganism. It is true that the sea monster is much like the hippocamp of Hellenistic and Roman art, and occasionally a sarcophagus with episodes from the story of Jonah has two Loves holding a tablet or a garland. In general, however, the monuments are altogether Christian. It is very unusual to find the legend associated with pagan magic, as on the amulet next to be described, which has a curious history.

When I first examined the collection of the late Edward T. Newell, I saw among more conspicuous and, for the moment, more interesting pieces, an oval plaque, weathered and chipped, on one side of which I could make out a snake-footed demon, on the other some dim human figures in a boat. At the time I may

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at the Baltimore Museum, where this gem was shown (April–June, 1947). Both this illustration and Garrucci's drawing were made from impressions, while the figure on my plate is from a cast, which was preferred because it shows the design as it is seen on the stone itself. At this period many intaglios were meant to be viewed directly, not through the medium of a wax imprint.

[8] Leclercq, 2582, Fig. 6285.

[9] Leclercq, 2611, Fig. 6302.

have thought that the latter design was the common Egyptian subject of Horus or Harpocrates in the sun-boat with attendant deities. The unusual, cheap-looking material was strange to me and also to Mr. Newell, who proposed to submit it to expert judgment, first giving me plasticine impressions of both sides.

At our next meeting he told me that he had taken the piece to a well-known authority on gem stones, who described it as argillaceous schist. Unfortunately, as the expert handed the amulet back to its owner, it slipped through their fingers, fell on the stone floor, and was broken to bits. Two or three pieces were saved, but the greater part was reduced to dustlike fragments, impossible to put together. The completeness of the destruction is explained by the clayey character of the material. Characteristically, Mr. Newell made light of the mishap, remarking that after all, I had a record of the stone, which was the important pont. However, since the piece had seemed at first inspection to be less interesting than others of the lot, I scarcely thought of the impressions again until the time came to review my notes on the whole collection with a view to publication.

In the meantime experience had sharpened my understanding of damaged designs, and I recognized that the figures in the boat had to do with the story of Jonah. A description in some detail is therefore in order.

The oval stone measured about mm. 48x37; a segment had been broken from the upper right side of the obverse, and the left side was chipped. The obverse surface was divided by a horizontal incision into two unequal parts (Fig. 2). In the upper and much smaller, nothing can be made out but a coiled snake (?) and two stars at the left side of an upright, which may have been meant for a tree. On the right side, nothing is certain. The background is filled in with indistinct objects or patterns, producing the effect of a tapestry.

Below the dividing line is a boat moving to the right. Over its prow the inscription Ιωναν, which I overlooked at first inspection, leaves no doubt about the subject depicted. In the stern is the helmsman with double steering oar, amidships a taller man with nimbus and long tunic, his hands raised in prayer; there is a star at each side of his head. In the prow is an indistinct figure

of which only the feet are clearly seen; its hands seem to be lifted in prayer. In front of the prow and slightly below it is a man swathed like a mummy, with a nimbus round his head, who is just being swallowed, feet first, by a sea monster with long jaws, snakelike body, fins, and fish tail. Behind the boat is a tree.

But for the halo that he wears, one might take the tall man amidships to be the captain of the vessel, raising his hands in astonishment or even in prayer; but the prayers that the crew addressed to Jehovah (Jonah 1.14) could hardly win for their captain the nimbus of a saint. The dim figure in the prow is also praying, but has no nimbus. The tall haloed figure is no other than the prophet himself, praying before he is thrown, or leaps, into the sea. This unusual motif is not without parallel; it occurs on a fragment of a child's sarcophagus in Rome, of which Leclercq says, "Ce fragment nous a conservé un 'instant' particulier, qui ne se trouve ailleurs; c'est celui où Jonah s'abandonne et s'offre au sort qui l'attend." A similar figure is to be seen on a sarcophagus from Agen.[10]

The strangest feature of the scene on the Newell amulet is that before his leap into the sea Jonah is clothed in a long tunic, yet when the monster engulfs him, he is wrapped in grave bandages, just as Lazarus is represented in the numerous works of Christian art that depict his resurrection. This naive incongruity is probably to be explained by the use of Jonah's adventure as a type, not only of the resurrection of Christ, but also of the resurrection in general.[11] Since in this allegory the monster represents the

[10] Leclercq, 2606, Fig. 6298. The sarcophagus from Agen is shown in DACL V, 2, 2443, fig. 4694. Leclercq at first called the figure in question simply an *orans*, but later recognized it as Jonah (VII, 2, 2612).

[11] Compare the closing lines of the Carmen de Iona by an unknown author (it has been attributed to both Tertullian and Cyprian):

> in signum sed enim domini quandoque futurus
> non erat exitio, sed mortis testis abactae.

This, however, is considered by Peiper to be an inferior tradition of the text, the best manuscript (P, Paris. lat. 2772) reading . . . futurum non erat, exitii, sed caeli gloria factus. The poem has curious points of interest, some of them arising from the double tradition of the text. Thus in 102 Jonah in the belly of the sea monster is said to be *inter semesas carnes*, the reading of P; but *semesas classes* (VT) seems to receive support from the words of Tertullian cited at the beginning of this article, *in cuius alvo naufragia digerebantur*. The "interpolated" text is

grave, a body given over to it wears graveclothes. The episode of Jonah's deliverance is not shown. Whether the tree behind the boat is a reminder of the story of the gourd must remain uncertain.

The reverse also is divided into two parts (Fig. 3). In the upper, which is much the smaller, there is a mound like the traditional form of the omphalos, covered with a herringbone pattern; also a large star inscribed in a circle and two smaller ones. The rest is indistinct. In the lower part is a very crude representation of a cock-headed god with snake coils for legs. His head is turned to right, the usual shield on his left arm is dimly visible, his left arm is raised, but neither his whip nor any other weapon can be made out. The snake legs are outlined with grooves broken by a succession of points or very short transverse lines. On each side are a tree and a coiling snake, also some indistinct stars and crescents (?). Opposite the serpentine legs are two sceptres with animal heads, and several large and small stars, filling the background.

The amulet is poorly executed, and can scarcely be dated earlier than the fifth century. Information about its provenance is wanting, but the style and the material give reason to connect it with other pieces known to be of Syrian or Palestinian origin.

The cock-headed anguipede is perhaps the commonest of all the divine or demonic figures that are engraved on magical amulets, and yet its origin and history are by no means well understood.[12] There is little doubt that it is connected with sun worship, and the regular occurrence of the name Ιαω with the snake-footed being points to a mixture of Hebrew monotheism with the worship of the divine sun. There is no satisfactory evidence to connect the design with Gnostic Christianity. It is true that the word or name αβρασαξ, which, like Ιαω, is usually found

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represented by the edition of Hartel, CSEL 3, 3, 297–301; Peiper's appears in CSEL 23, 221–226.

The line (54) describing Jonah's slumber below deck (Jon. 1.5),

stertens inflata resonabat nare soporem,

will wake rueful memories in anyone who, *nimium vicinus*, has suffered from an unconscious murderer of his neighbors' sleep.

[12] The subject will be discussed at length in a chapter of my Studies in Magical Amulets, now complete and ready for printing.

with it, was thought by Irenaeus and Hippolytus (and others after them) to refer to the prince or archon of the 365 heavens in the system of Basilides; [13] but it is probably only a word of power, the magic whereof lay in the fact that the isopsephic value of its letters amounts to 365. Augustine seems to recognize this in a passage that is worth quoting:

> Basilidiani a Basilide, qui hoc distabat a Simonianis, quod trecentos sexaginta quinque caelos esse dicebat, quo numero dierum annus includitur. Unde etiam quasi sanctum nomen commendabat, quod est αβρασαξ, cuius nominis litterae secundum Graecam supputationem eundem numerum complent (De haeres. 4, PL 42, 26).

The word *Abrasax*, moreover, is not associated exclusively with the cock-headed demon, but is found with many other magical designs.

The Newell amulet, therefore, need not be regarded as Gnostic. The figure of the anguipede on the reverse of a common Christian design means nothing more than this, that certain Christians were willing to make use of pagan magic while outwardly professing a faith that condemned it. That, however, is a fact well known to students of church history, and not only to those who are versed in the records and monuments of the earlier Christian centuries.

[13] Iren. adv. haer. 1. 19. 1,4 (I, 199, 203 Harvey); Hippol. Refut. 7. 26. 6 (205, 4 Wendland).

Studies and Documents, edited by †Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, XIV, The De Incarnatione of Athanasius (London: Christophers; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press). Part I, The Long Recension Manuscripts, by George J. Ryan, pp. 125 (1945). Part II, The Short Recension, by Robert Pierce Casey, pp. xlix + 86 (1946).

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The progress of modern studies toward an exact edition of St. Athanasius, De incarnatione, is notably advanced in this double volume, by Professor Ryan of the College of William and Mary, and by Professor Casey of Brown University. We shall turn to their work with readier appreciation if we first recall several previous contributions. One of these was the edition by Archibald Robertson, published more than fifty years ago (²London, 1893), based on the Codex Seguerianus (S), a twelfth century parchment in the Bibliothèque Nationale, first collated for the Benedictine edition of Athanasius in 1698. Casey and Ryan were well advised in adopting Robertson's text as the constant norm of their collations. A great boon is conferred on their readers by Casey's reprint of Robertson, page by page and line by line, as an appendix of Part II.

Robertson enjoyed the assistance of Frederick Wallis in gathering his materials. In 1901–1902, the latter contributed to the Journal of Theological Studies (III, 97–109; 245–255) a descriptive and critical account of all manuscripts of the De incarnatione known to him, with considerable attention to their genealogy.

In 1925, in the Revue d' histoire ecclésiastique (XXI [Louvain], 525–530), J. Lebon opened a new perspective. It had been observed that a few ancient writers, in quoting the De incarnatione, introduced elements of text not found in our copies of the book. Msgr. Lebon brought to light a fourteenth century paper manuscript of Mt. Athos (Dochiariou 28 = d), in which a distinct recension of the entire treatise, containing these unusual passages, stood revealed. Better still, he found the same text

translated in a Syrian manuscript of the sixth century (Vat. syr. 104 = *S*). Full collation of d is now published by Casey.

Kirsopp Lake and Casey discovered in 1925 another Greek copy of this text at Athens, in a tenth century parchment (C), containing our treatise in large part, and published an account of it in the Harvard Theological Review in 1926 (XIX, 259–270). Casey published a full collation in the same pages in 1930 (XXIII, 51–89). A fourth witness has been added to these by Hans-Georg Opitz, who identified the text in a manuscript to which Eduard Schwartz had called attention, a sixteenth century paper codex in the Ambrosian (235 [D 51 sup.] = D: Schwartz, "Der s. g. Sermo maior de fide des Athanasius," Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., 1924, no. 6, 44–46).

In 1929, the Patristic Commission of the Prussian Academy resolved upon a new edition of Athanasius, to appear under the general editorship of Professors Casey and Hans Lietzmann. Early fascicles of text (Athanasius Werke, hrsgb. im Auftrage der Kirchenväter Kommission der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft [Berlin and Leipzig, 1934—]), edited by Dr. Opitz, had appeared before the war. The De incarnatione, however, was not among them. In 1935, Opitz published a comprehensive study of the manuscripts of the whole corpus of Athanasian writings, Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, hrsgb. von Emanuel Hirsch und Hans Lietzmann, no. 23 [Berlin and Leipzig]), an invaluable contribution. "The advance from the eight or ten manuscripts used by Montfaucon," writes Frank Leslie Cross, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford (The Study of Athanasius, an inaugural lecture [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945], p. 10 f.), "to the eighty listed in 1935 by Dr. Opitz in his *Untersuchungen* is an impressive achievement, especially when it is borne in mind that the increase is due not so much to the accession of late and inferior manuscripts as to the discovery of new ones whose average value is at least as high as that of those which earlier editors used." Opitz not only presents copious materials; he develops extensive theories of their history and value for establishing the text. Canon Cross signalizes "the very

fluid state of the problems," and enters a word of caution against rapid solutions. Ryan and Casey are naturally occupied with Opitz.

Part I

Before the recovery of the new form of the De incarnatione known as the Short Recension, the problem of establishing a sound text, though requiring the usual immense labors inherent in such a project, remained of an ordinary type. A score or more of manuscripts were to be examined, collated, classified; and the readings were to be established, point by point, on the basis of all the evidence. This process had to be carried on within an adequate investigation of the Athanasian corpus as a whole.

As regards the Long Recension, which is that of the printed editions we now possess, this problem remains substantially unchanged. Ryan's part in the present undertaking has been to bring it to its final stage. He has made the collations; he has established the stemma; he has published a full set of variants against the Robertson text; he has formulated editorial rules, and has registered his judgment on many of the cruces. He has found the Short Recension of essential value in assessing rival readings of the Long.

Let us now trace the main lines of Ryan's system, with the understanding that it rests on full collation of all manuscripts, and with the further understanding that the reviewer's presentation is simplified to the extreme.

All manuscripts of the Long Recension are found to derive from two archetypes, α and β. α is represented by four manuscripts, of which S is the best, and *H*, "a practically worthless copy of S" (p. 47); while H and O are mixed both from the Short Recension and from β; and O is further vitiated by the singular temerity of the scribe. Any agreements within this group, if S is included, are presumptive proof of the α text.

All other Long Recension manuscripts — nineteen of them — are of the archetype β. They fall into two subdivisions, γ and δ. A tenth century parchment in the Laurentian (4.23 = G), of the γ group, has the distinction of being the oldest extant manuscript of the Long Recension and as old as any Greek manuscript of the

Short. Ryan produces copious evidence to show that it is strongly mixed with readings from α and from the Short Recension (p. 54 ff.).

A thirteenth century parchment in the British Museum (Burney 46 = L), with its near relatives (*QMT*) is found free from errors outside those of the γ group (p. 64 ff.). In their common text, these four are an important witness to γ readings.

The second group of β's descendants is δ. It has its own subdivisions, comprising in all ten manuscripts ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. A group of four, KAFY, are closely related. Their common ancestor is found to have carried a number of Short Recension readings as supplements to its own Long Recension text (p. 80 ff.).

Six manuscripts (WMBN*OC*), finally, constitute another group of the subgroup δ (p. 69 ff.). Of these, a Basel codex on paper, of the fourteenth century (Universitätsbibliothek A.III.4, gr. 32 = B), holds a prominent rôle in the history of the printed editions and in actual discussion. The *editio princeps* of Athanasius' works in Greek, including the De incarnatione, published by Commelin's heirs at Heidelberg in 1601, was printed from a Geneva manuscript of the sixteenth century, but with many readings from B. B contains an introductory poem addressed to Athanasius by a certain Doxapatres; and a number of marginalia are signed by him. Opitz concluded to his identity with Nicholas Doxapatres, a twelfth-century Constantinopolitan jurist, and regarded B as the descendant of a special edition by him of Athanasius (Untersuchungen, 28 ff.; 208/9). Objections to this opinion were stated ten years ago, in Casey's review of the Untersuchungen (Deutsche Literaturzeitung LVIII [Berlin, 1937]; see col. 90). Opitz's grouping of KAFY with B, as together representing his "Doxapatres Ausgabe," has run upon a serious reef in Ryan's collations (pp. 80 ff. and 94 ff.).

The main conclusions drawn by Ryan from his study of all the manuscripts of the Long Recension may best be stated in his own words (p. 50):

> The establishment of the original text of the *De incarnatione* depends, therefore, on the following combinations of manuscripts:
>
> The α and β groups

The α and γ groups
The α and δ groups
When α and β differ, the choice rests upon the intrinsic value of the readings. In this case, however, the support of the Short Recension text will normally indicate the original reading.

The reviewer is of the opinion, although he would differ in certain particulars from Ryan's analysis of the evidence, that these conclusions are sound.

Ryan completes his discussion with a notice of quotations of the De incarnatione in the Chronicon of Georgius Monachus, composed about the middle of the ninth century, and preserved in manuscripts as old, probably, as the tenth (C. de Boor, Georgii Monachi Chronicon [Leipzig: Teubner, 1904], p. LX, on Coislianus 305). This source adds little of textual value for Athanasius, though the excerpts are extensive. Ryan describes them as "the earliest known quotations from the Long Recension text."

Part II

i.

Professor Casey's experience in Athanasian studies, and his special connection with all that touches the Short Recension, give high authority to Part II of the present work. It falls into three sections: an Introduction of thirty pages; a full collation of d; and the eighty-six pages of Robertson's text. Having previously published the collation of C, with a study of its character, Casey turns now, in his Introduction, to a full description of the other Greek manuscripts D and d; and to the Syrian manuscript, *S*.

In the case of D, after adverse criticism of an opinion of Opitz that this codex was produced at Antioch and designed for Nestorian propaganda, Casey finds that its text, like that of C, is influenced by the Long Recension, and "is by no means as pure a text as *S*." The authority of d is impaired by a number of revisions for sense, betraying doctrinal anxieties. Casey's study of *S* reveals an outstanding witness of the Short Recension, not only in its earliness, but in its excellence.

Notice of the manuscripts is followed by a study of the quotations in Greek and Syrian sources — a Greek catena of the library at Florence (Laurentiana Cod. plut. IV. 23), edited by

Schwartz ("Sermo maior," as above), a catena at Rome, edited by the same ("Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431", Abhandlungen der Bay. Ak. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., XXXII [Munich, 1927], no. 6, p. 47), writings of Theodoret, Anastasius, Timothy Aelurus, Leontius, Severus of Antioch. This maze of material is elucidated with skillful care. The Short Recension appears to have enjoyed wide currency in the fifth and sixth centuries; but the freedom with which the quotations are handled, whether with or without doctrinal bent, calls for great caution, as Casey emphasizes, in interpreting their textual value.

Neither Casey nor Ryan mentions some nine lines quoted in the Easter Letter of an Alexandrian patriarch. In view of the source and the date of the manuscript, this is a notable document. It is to be dated in one of three possible years — 713, 719 or 724. We know it from an original copy (Pap. Berolinensis 10677), published by Carl Schmidt and Wilhelm Schubart, Altchristliche Texte (Berliner Klassikertexte VI [1910]), Papyrus V. The passage (col. VIII, lines 225–230: op. cit., p. 80) corresponds to Robertson 47.8–17. The variants from Robertson's text are as follows: 9. *ποιεῖν τὸν Κύριον* *ἔτι* pro *ἔδει* 11. om *δή* 12. om *τόν* 14. om *ἦν* 15. *γενέσθαι* *ἀπέθανεν ὡς* 17. om *ἐστι*.

None of these readings corrupt the sense. Most of them are singular. On one, Schmidt and Schubart have a perplexing note: "Pap. richtig *ἔδει* statt *ἔτι*." The papyrus has *ἔδει*, it is true, at the beginning of the quotation (Robertson 47.8); but this reading is invariable. In the following clause, the papyrus has *ἔτι*, where all others repeat *ἔδει*. The variant is arresting.

Two agreements with the Short Recension excite attention. One is the word order, *ποιεῖν τὸν Κύριον* (DdS cum catena laurentiana et Severo [Casey, pp. xxviii, xxxiv]); the other, omission of the article with *θάνατον* (d saltem [Casey, xlvii]). No plain inference can be drawn, however, since in two readings the papyrus follows the Long Recension: *ναὸν γεγενήσθαι* (pap *γενέσθαι* cum catena [Casey, xxvi]), where d reverses the word order (cum H [Ryan, 113]), and *ἀνέζησε*, where d (cum catena) has *ἀνέστη*. C is wanting; and full collations of D and *S* have not been published.

ii.

No other question involved in the modern study of the De incarnatione is so challenging as that of the relations between the two recensions. Opitz was keenly stimulated by it, and developed a strong, far-reaching view: the Short Recension is a revision, not by Athanasius, of the Long; the motive was doctrinal; the milieu was Antioch; the author may have been Diodorus of Tarsus (Untersuchungen, 192–200). Both in reviewing Opitz, over ten years ago, and in his Introduction today, Casey brings a sober, informed, conscientious criticism to bear. His conclusions will be stated below.

An element of special interest in the problem is the doctrinal evolution within the recension itself. Of this there is proof positive. The outstanding instance is well worth citing: it illustrates individual qualities of all the manuscripts, and presents its problem boldly. Casey quotes the relevant text from D, and adds the variants of *S*C and d (p. xvi [the confusion, due to a printing error, in note c, line 1 f., may be clarified by turning to the collation of d, p. xlvi]):

> *τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα ἅτε δὴ σῶμα ὂν ἀνθρώπινον ὡς προεῖπον ἐνέκρουτο τῇ τοῦ Λόγου διαλύσει*

---

om *ἀνθρώπινον S* διαλύσει] *θελήσει* C *τῇ τοῦ Λόγου διαλύτει*] *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον* ⟩⟩ *ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι τὴν ψυχήν μου καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω λαβεῖν αὐτήν* ⟨⟨ *τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς διαλύσει* d

The body of Christ was stricken, according to *S* and D, by its separation from the Logos. Msgr. Lebon has devoted an extended investigation to the point of historical theology involved, and has confirmed the fact already known that in the early patristic age orthodox writers, including Athanasius himself, sometimes referred to the death of Christ as a separation from the Logos (Revue d' histoire ecclésiastique XXIII [Louvain, 1927], 5–43; 209–241). This was an unguarded manner of speaking, which would lend itself to errors that no orthodox writer would countenance, once the issue was joined. No scribe, on the other hand, ought to have altered a text to elude embarrassment; that is what some of them did.

The reading of *S* and D is undoubtedly genuine; C replaces

διαλύσει with the safe substitute, θελήσει; d adopts a hardier solution, not only writing τῆς ψυχῆς in place of τοῦ Λόγου, but coloring the altered text with a quotation from St. John (x, 18). The *lectio difficilis* is certainly primitive. It is not, however, an argument against Athanasian authorship; it is an argument for the early date of the Short Recension.

This remarkable place has no counterpart in the Long Recension. It occurs in the course of a large substitution that replaces all of chapter xxv and part of the adjacent chapters of our printed texts. The new passage, in the main, is simply a summary, tersely drawn, of foregoing arguments common to both recensions. It seems designed to reknit the sequence rather than to amend the doctrine. Why the omission? That is an intriguing question, which Casey discusses in some detail (p. xxxix).

It is certain that the omitted chapter has a literary character of its own, a fact acknowledged by its author. The De incarnatione, as a whole, is an apologetic treatise designed to persuade readers of good will that the Christian doctrine of the Word made flesh is congruous both with right reason and with pre-Christian revelation. Schwartz has made apt remarks on the broad appeal which such a piece of "Propagandaliteratur" was intended to have ("Sermo maior," p. 41, f. n. 1). In chapter xxv, however, the author of the Long Recension, writing only for Christians, offers a number of allegorical arguments that may appeal to their pious devotion.

The subject under immediate discussion is the propriety of the crucifixion: reasons adapted to readers in and out of the Church already have been proposed. Chapter xxv is for those ἐξ ἡμῶν, says Athanasius, who seek some further answer to the question. Of the suggestions that follow, the most dramatic is thus condensed by Casey: "By the death on the cross the air was purified and the way made safe for the soul to reach heaven without the interference of the devil and his hosts."

Why the omission of chapter xxv from the Short Recension? Opitz found the answer in his opinion that the recension was Antiochian, and reflected Antiochian objection to allegorical exegesis. Casey, who denies the supposition, has not replied directly; but a reply is implicit in his remark: "These . . . rather fantastic

considerations are eliminated by the Short Recension and replaced by a more serious theology."

In the reviewer's opinion, a sufficient reason for the change is given in the character of the De incarnatione and of the reading public for which it was destined. Chapter xxv, whatever its fitness in other respects, is a purple patch, and a target for profane criticism. Whether Athanasius or his Christian readers would have found the contents fantastic is a nice question. There is a pertinent parallel to the episode of the demons in his Life of St. Anthony (c. 65 [Migne P. G. XXVI, 933 C–936 B]), in the Epistle to Adelphius (c. 7 [ibid., 1081 B]), and in the doubtfully Athanasian treatise, De passione et cruce Domini (c. 21 [XXVIII, 221 D–224 A]). Probably Athanasius would have upheld the themes of chapter xxv — *sed nunc non erat his locus.*

Casey concludes his study with a summary that deserves full quotation (p. xl):

> After a more detailed survey of the evidence than was attempted earlier, the Long Recension still appears to have been the original, the Short Recension a secondary, literary revision, revealing no clearly defined dogmatic motive. In view of the absence of important dogmatic changes in the true texts of both recensions and of the similarity in matter and style between the additions and substitutions of the Short Recension and the Long Recension, the former may plausibly be attributed to Athanasius himself or to one of his immediate circle. The revisions of the Short Recension found in d and Severus must be placed some years later and ascribed to someone of learning and somewhat advanced Christological opinions.

With this judgment, the reviewer is in substantial accord. It seems improbable, however, that anyone of Athanasius' immediate circle except Athanasius himself would have made the revision.

iii.

Casey and Ryan take occasional note of biblical quotations as a special element in the text of their author, with no systematic exploitation, however, of this vein. Divergences in Long and Short Recension quotations from the Bible have distinct value for the history of the biblical text. The Long Recension, quoting

Ephesians iii, 18–19 (Robertson 24.11–16), in agreement with both the *textus receptus* and with Westcott and Hort, has the words: *ἵνα πληρωθῆτε εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The Short Recension, in its recorded representatives (Cd), has instead: *ἵνα πληρώθη πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. This latter is the text of Vaticanus (B) and of three minuscules noted by Tischendorf; and as a secondary reading it is recognized by Westcott and Hort (Casey, xix, notices only the agreement with Cod. 17, one of the three minuscules).

In quoting John x, 37–38 (Robertson 27.7–10), the Long Recension supports Westcott and Hort: *ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε* with the Beatty papyrus of the Gospels and Acts (P^{54}) and B among the ancient witnesses. Only one Short Recension manuscript (d) is cited on this passage. Its reading, *ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ πιστεύσητε* is that of the "received text" with Sinaiticus (ℵ) and Alexandrinus (A).

Reversely, in I Corinthians xv, 55 (Robertson 41.10–11), the Long Recension runs with the "received text": *ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ σου ᾅδη τὸ κέντρον*; whereas Short Recension manuscripts (Cd) in place of *ᾅδη* have a second *θάνατε*, which is the "critical text" (W–H with P^{46}ℵB).

These examples illustrate the interest of the twofold recension for students of the biblical text. Others cast revealing light on the inter-relationship between the recensions. In the Long Recension quotation of II Corinthians v, 14–15 (Robertson 14.23–27), we read: *ἵνα ἡμεῖς μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶμεν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἀναστάντι*. In the Short Recension (Cd), for *ἡμεῖς* we have *οἱ ζῶντες*; for *ζῶμεν, ζῶσιν*; and for *ἀναστάντι, ἐγερθέντι*. The Short Recension text is that of the New Testament; the Long, an adaptation of it.

Twice Athanasius quotes the apostrophe to death, I Corinthians xv, 53–55 (where St. Paul himself, as it happens, is quoting Hosea xiii, 14). We have already seen one instance. In the other (Robertson 31.23–28), the quotation includes only one member of a rhetorical distich, *ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον* — this, in the Long Recension, excepting three manuscripts, closely related, of the sixteenth century (*QMT*). The missing member, *ποῦ σου ᾅδη τὸ νῖκος*, would come unbidden to the reader's mind; and

Q*MT* have added it on paper, without authority in the earlier tradition of their recension. Long before their time, however, the same addition is found in the Short Recension, as represented by the medieval manuscripts Cd and the sixth century Syrian manuscript *S*.

The last quotation in the De incarnatione is from St. Paul, I Corinthians ii, 9 (Robertson 86.13–15), the "eye hath not seen" passage which has so often graced a sermon's end. Athanasius modulates from the scriptural text into a doxology. The quotation proper leaves off in the Long Recension with the phrase, slightly modified from the original, *ὅσα ἡτοίμασται*. In the Short Recension (d), for this we read *ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεός*, which is the "received text" of the New Testament (with P^{46}ℵD), and the "critical text" as well, except for *ὅσα* (W–H with ABC) in place of *ἅ*.

These are selected cases; they are corroborated by others. A certified registration of the readings of all Short Recension witnesses is prerequisite to a final judgment. This need is illustrated by an agreement of one Short Recension manuscript (C) with the Long (Luke xiv, 10: Robertson 21.5–6) in a departure (*ἀπολόμενον*) from the New Testament text (*ἀπολωλός*) which another Short Recension manuscript (d) supports. The examination, moreover, which I have confined to New Testament quotations, must be extended to those, perhaps an equal sum, from the Old. On the positive basis of examples observed, the Short Recension appears clearly to be a revision of the Long. Casey on other grounds had affirmed, and now reaffirms this judgment. The evidence of biblical quotations, handled with untrammeled freedom in the Long Recension, and visibly conformed to the biblical text in the Short, is a new, strong item of proof.

Close readers of these new studies, looking up references and checking lemmata, will encounter minutiae which escaped the proof-reader's eye. I should like to query a remarkable entry in Ryan's collation (119, on Rob. 64.24 [*πεποιηκεναι*]): "*om *πεποιηκεναι* omn mss." If "om" is correct, whence Montfaucon's text? Not from d, which also has the word (cf. Casey, xlviii, ad loc.). In Casey's reprint of Robertson, 11.30, for *ἐπεύθυνον* read

ὑπεύθυνον; 21.14 ενον, 22.24 οι, change breathings. The errors are not in Robertson. Casey, xxxvi, quoting a Short Recension addition at Robertson 64.20, has εαυτον for the true and necessary εαυτον (cf. Casey xlviii, ad loc.).

An edition of the twofold text of the De incarnatione, made with such care as Ryan and Casey are devoting to it, should be to lovers of good letters ἄγαλμα ποθεινότατον. May it soon be in our hands.

THE VALUE AND INFLUENCE OF CASSIODORUS' ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

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Most students of history or literature have had at some time the experience of encountering statements or generalizations made by a writer of an earlier generation and then finding them repeated without question by his successors working in the same field of inquiry. What is more, if dissentient voices have been raised, they have often been overlooked or disregarded. The prevailing estimate of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History affords an excellent example of the manner in which erroneous opinions have been repeated *ad nauseam* from one generation to the next, although more than thirty years have passed since two scholars of the first rank, Bidez and Parmentier, provided at least some of the evidence needed for a more just evaluation of Cassiodorus' book. There are two essential questions which seem to call for fresh investigation. The first is concerned with the value and accuracy of the compilation, the second with its diffusion during the Middle Ages and its popularity as a work of reference.[1]

Some years after political conditions had forced Cassiodorus to withdraw from public life, he founded his monastic community at Vivarium in southern Italy. He built up his famous library in order to make possible the study of secular and religious works by his monks; and, as a general guide to their reading, he composed his treatise, Institutiones, in two short books, the first devoted to sacred, the second to profane letters.[2] He did not, however, consider the study of only Latin writers to be an adequate preparation for the monastic student. Hence one part of his general plan was to make available in Latin dress Greek works which for one reason or another seemed to him of essential utility.

[1] The following abbreviations have been used throughout: HT = Historia Tripartita; MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica; PL = Migne, Patrologia Latina.

[2] The best treatment of Cassiodorus' activities at Vivarium is now to be found in the brilliant book, Les Lettres grecques en Occident, by Pierre Courcelle (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 159; Paris, de Boccard, 1943), pp. 313–388. Cf. my review in Classical Philology for October, 1947.

He refers to the Greek books which he caused to be translated, and he names several of the helpers to whom the actual task of translation was entrusted. Amongst the historical works for which he thus assumed a general responsibility was a condensed version of the Ecclesiastical Histories composed by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Epiphanius, the translator, was responsible also for Latin renderings of several Greek theological works; otherwise nothing is known about him. Cassiodorus refers twice to the undertaking. He explains its origin and purpose briefly in the Preface, which is certainly from his pen even if his share in compiling the actual history was purely advisory or editorial; and he included an even shorter statement in that chapter of the Institutiones (1, 17) where he describes the historical section of his library.

Epiphanius began by turning into Latin the abbreviated version of the three Histories put together a decade or two before by a certain Theodore, Reader at the church of S. Sophia in Constantinople, but Cassiodorus makes no mention of this fact. Theodore's work, although it has never been printed, is still extant in the same manuscript at Venice (Marcianus 344: saec. xiii) which, as far as it goes, contains the best surviving text of Sozomen.[3] From Book 2, chapter 8, however, Epiphanius proceeded independently. There are a few more borrowings from Theodore here and there; after that Epiphanius, with or without the guidance of Cassiodorus, makes his own selections from the Greek originals. The name by which this Latin version became known, Historia Tripartita, explains its origin and seems obvious enough; nevertheless it is hard to say when it first came into use. Theodore Lector called his book a *syntaxis* or compilation. Cassiodorus' contemporary, Liberatus of Carthage, obtained material from Epiphanius' version for his account of Nestorianism and Monophysitism; he calls it "the ecclesiastical history lately translated from Greek into Latin."[4] Gregory the Great refers to a

[3] Cf. J. Bidez, La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le lecteur (A. Harnack und C. Schmidt, Texte und Untersuchungen XXXII [1908], Heft 2b), pp. 35 ff.; and generally, O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur 5 (1932), pp. 117–118.

[4] Cf. Bidez, op. cit., p. 46, where the whole of Theodore's Preface is printed; Liberatus in PL 68, col. 969C.

passage "in historia Sozomeni"; actually it is in Theodoret, but Gregory's mistake is readily understandable if he was using HT. Isidore of Seville obtained material from HT for his Chronicle and two notices in De viris illustribus, but did not indicate his source. After that evidence is lacking for a long while; but in the ninth century the title, Historia Tripartita, is well established, though by no means in universal use. It is found in the official report of the Synod held at Paris in 825 and it is employed by individual writers, for example, by Amalarius of Metz and Jonas of Orleans. Others, like Ratramnus of Corbie and Hincmar of Rheims, prefer to name the particular Greek author, for instance, "Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History," although they quote the Latin translation. Wahlafrid employs both methods.[5] The library catalogues of the ninth century show a similar variation in usage. Some mention only the three Greek authors and call the book, "Ecclesiastical History," while one lists it as "Tripartite History of Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret." Whereas the cataloguer at Reichenau with his entry, "Tripartitae II," believed in extreme brevity, his confrère at St. Gall went to the opposite extreme with his, "The Ecclesiastical Histories of Cassiodorus Senator derived from three authors, to wit, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates, twelve books in one volume." Gradually the short title, Historia Tripartita (or Tripertita), without mention of either the Greek authors or of Cassiodorus or Epiphanius, became more and more usual, and in the library catalogues of the twelfth century and later it predominates. Yet authors of the twelfth century still introduce quotations from HT with a reference to the Greek historian cited. William of Tyre inserted two considerable passages from Book 6 into his own History, assigning them correctly to Sozomen and Theodoret "in the Tripartite History." John of Salisbury introduced a citation with the comment: "Hence Socrates — not the Socrates of antiquity, but the writer whom Cassiodorus in his Tripartite History praises as a historian — remarks." [6]

We may now turn to the first of the two questions which call

[5] De exordiis, chs. 20 and 26 (ed. Knöpfler, pp. 45 and 76–77).

[6] PL 201, 403A (from HT 1058B–C) and 309D–310A (from HT 1051D); Policraticus (ed. C. C. Webb) II, 214, 10 ff.

for reconsideration, the value and accuracy of HT. Adverse judgments on it go back a long way. They are as old as Beatus Rhenanus whose book, Autores Historiae Ecclesiasticae, published at Basel in 1523, contained Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History together with Rufinus' two additional Books and HT. He added the documents in Theodoret in the Greek text, using a manuscript at Basel which is still extant.[7] In modern times the most detailed criticism of HT was made by Adolf Franz whose book on Cassiodorus appeared in 1872. After pointing out that the translator's knowledge of Greek was imperfect, he listed many examples of mistranslations in HT and also examples of careless arrangement in the material selected. As often happens when a notable book on a special topic has appeared, Franz' judgments were adopted more or less without question by subsequent writers. They appear in the standard literary histories of Schanz, Manitius, Bardenhewer, Moricca, and Labriolle, as well as in occasional articles. Manitius asserts that the translator had before him a text marred by many errors, while M. van de Vyver indulges in a little hyperbole when he suggests that a monograph would be necessary to describe the many mistakes of which Epiphanius was guilty.[8] That the critics of HT were neither accurate nor just was first demonstrated by Bidez in 1908 when he published his study of the surviving manuscripts of Sozomen. Three years later Parmentier's admirable edition of Theodoret appeared. Both of these scholars were fully aware that Epiphanius had from time to time made "boners," which occasionally are even amusing.[9] But they showed that the Greek manuscripts used for HT were superior, and that by the

[7] L. Parmentier, Theodoret: Kirchengeschichte (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig, 1911), p. LXVI.

[8] M. Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters I, p. 51. In the Nachträge published in II, p. 793 he alludes to the work of Bidez and Parmentier, but he does not point out that their researches invalidated his earlier opinion. M. van de Vyver (Speculum 6 [1931], pp. 264–265), refers to Bidez in a footnote, but his estimate of HT and the fact that he repeats a mistake in Bidez' book suggest that he had not read it very carefully. On p. 51 Bidez had stated that Epiphanius used Theodore Lector down to Book 2, chapter 3. This was either a slip or a misprint; and on p. 55 he says correctly that Theodore's Syntaxis was followed down to Book 2, chapter 7.

[9] For example, the confusion between ὠδῖσιν and ᾠδαῖς, so that παρθενικαῖς ὠδῖσιν in HT become *virginum cantibus*! See Parmentier, op. cit. p. LII.

help of Latin manuscripts of HT it is often possible to correct readings where the extant Greek codices differ. What is more, the Latin text can be used to restore the true reading in places where the surviving Greek text is defective or corrupt. In short, a study of the examples listed by Parmentier in his Introduction and a perusal of the apparatus criticus accompanying the text of Theodoret fully demonstrate the injustice of Cassiodorus' modern detractors.

In the Preface to HT Cassiodorus observes that the three Greek writers, in treating the same events, had not all been equally detailed or shown an equal amount of care; hence some parts were better in one author, some in another. Hitherto it has not been noticed that the selection of passages included in HT implies considerable exercise of the critical faculty. This, it can hardly be doubted, was Cassiodorus' own contribution, in other words, his editorial function was real not nominal. Regarded from the point of view of historical accuracy Socrates' book is unquestionably the most valuable and the most accurate of the three. Sozomen, a far better stylist, is more agreeable to read. Theodoret's History with its strongly partisan outlook belongs, like Orosius' History, in spirit though not in form to apologetic rather than to historical literature. This feature, which a modern student would regard as a defect, would appear as a merit to the men of the Middle Ages. Besides, although all three introduce documentary material into their books, Theodoret in this respect is much more lavish than the other two. Examination of the selections in HT leads to a significant result. The excerpts from Socrates, the soundest historian of the three, greatly exceed in number those from Sozomen or Theodoret. In Books 4, 9, and 10 Sozomen comes in a bad third, nor are the extracts from him in Books 7 and 8 numerous. He is in the lead only in Book 6. Not a few of the passages taken from Theodoret are documentary or else contain material which is omitted by Socrates and Sozomen. Theodoret is, for example, the only one of the three to give in full the report of the Council of Sardica (HT 4, 24) or Athanasius' letter to the African bishops concerning the Synod of Rimini (HT 5, 30) or the letter from the Synod of Constantinople to George, bishop of Alexandria (HT 5, 42); and there are other

instances of the same thing. Books 11 and 12 of HT come entirely from Socrates who carried the story down to 439. Sozomen appears to have done the same, but the surviving version of his History does not extend beyond 421. One may perhaps surmise that the last section was already missing in the codex used by Epiphanius. Theodoret's account ended with events of the year 428.

If the selection made by Cassiodorus thus shows more care and critical acumen than he has generally been credited with, there was also some excuse for Epiphanius' occasional lapses as a translator. As Parmentier has justly observed, it was no easy task to render into adequate Latin certain of the Greek documents. Many dealt with difficult and obscure points of dogma, and it is probable that already by the middle of the sixth century corruptions had crept into the Greek text. Besides, why should Epiphanius or Cassiodorus be singled out for special obloquy? Rufinus, whose facilities were better and for whom there was therefore less excuse, was not always an accurate translator. This fact has been recognized but his versions have not been judged as harshly as HT has. And, while it would be invidious to particularize, one could readily point to translations published in our own day which are disfigured not just by verbal infelicities but by errors falsifying the author's meaning. Parmentier rated HT more highly than Bidez. The reason is not far to seek. He consulted three extant manuscripts of HT, whereas Bidez had been content to work with Garet's text as reprinted in Migne's Patrology. But Garet was certainly one of the less distinguished members of the Congregation of St. Maur. Mynors has called Garet's edition of the Institutiones a "disappointing and misleading work." The same estimate may be applied to his edition of HT. It thus becomes evident that some of the criticism levelled against Cassiodorus or Epiphanius should by right be directed at the Benedictine editor. A final judgment on the merits and defects of HT will only be possible when a trustworthy edition based on a collation of the best codices becomes available. In the meantime the evidence scattered through the apparatus criticus of Parmentier's Theodoret is highly significant.

The popularity of HT during the Middle Ages has often been

stressed in a general way, but without an adequate investigation of the facts. Even those who, like Thiele, have not been content with generalizations but have taken the trouble to collect some evidence are still misleading because their inquiries have not gone far enough.[10] In the first place all the available evidence seems to point to the conclusion that for several centuries after its composition HT was not widely used. For a long time it could not compare in popularity with Orosius' History or even with Rufinus' version of Eusebius. On the other hand, Rufinus' continuation went no further than A.D. 395, and Jerome's adaptation of Eusebius' Chronicle ends with the year 378. Orosius carried his story down to 419, but his book was not an *ecclesiastical* History; and, moreover, in his later books he concentrated mainly on events in the western half of the Empire. Continuations of Eusebius-Jerome by western chroniclers were many, but the only one which met with lasting success was Prosper's. The Chronicle of Hydatius survives in a single manuscript; the same thing is true of later compilers, like John of Biclaro and Marius of Avenches. Besides, the emphasis in these continuations was wholly or almost wholly on western affairs. The one chronicler who appears to have enjoyed a somewhat wider diffusion and who at the same time gave information about the Byzantine world was Marcellinus Comes.[11] Since HT was the only work in Latin to offer detailed information about the Church in the eastern half of the Empire for forty odd years after the death of Theodosius I, one might have supposed, arguing *a priori*, that its popularity would be ensured from the beginning. Yet the evidence points to a different conclusion. Extant manuscripts copied before c. 900 are scarce, and in library catalogues of the ninth century the book appears only seven times, in four German and three French col-

[10] See Hans Thiele, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des OSB 50 (1932), pp. 415–417; the information in L. W. Jones, Divine and Human Readings by Cassiodorus (Columbia U. P., 1946), pp. 56–57, is also insufficient, being taken from Thiele with some additions from Manitius' third volume. There are many omissions even in M. Manitius, HSS antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen, pp. 319–322.

[11] The Liber pontificalis, apart from its specialized nature, making any references to eastern affairs merely incidental, only becomes a detailed record from the end of the sixth century. Cf. the judicious summary of Bardenhewer, op. cit. 5, p. 302.

lections. Obviously at least one manuscript of very early date must have survived, the archetype of the oldest that we now possess, and there may well have been two or three venerable codices. The mere fact, however, that extant manuscripts of early date — there are none of the eighth century — are few shows that HT only made headway very slowly, compared, for instance, with Cassiodorus' commentary on the Psalms.[12] It does not appear to have been much consulted by continental authors of the eighth century, and in England it seems to have been unknown at that period. Levison has noted a reminiscence from HT in Boniface's correspondence, Alcuin cites from it once, and his contemporary, Paulinus of Aquileia was certainly familiar with it.[13] From Alcuin's time on the writers on the Continent betray increasing interest in the book, with the incidental result that it began to receive more attention also in the scriptoria. How is this change of attitude to be explained? The treatises composed in the ninth century, in which quotations from HT occur, suggest a probable answer.

There were two topics which engaged the attention of scholars in that age for which HT supplied useful material — the various doctrinal "errors" of the Greek Church and the duties of rulers

[12] M. Courcelle, whose account of Cassiodorus is otherwise so good, is utterly misleading in what he says about extant manuscripts of these two works. He asserts (op. cit., p. 351 with note 7) that "quantité de manuscrits carolingiens" of HT survive and, in support of this statement, he lists seven. One of these (Sangall. 561) contains saints' lives with, as far as can be judged from Scherrer, at most a few excerpts from HT. Casinensis 302, according to Lowe (Beneventan Script, p. 349), is written partly in ordinary minuscule (saec. x/xi), partly in Beneventan (saec. xi ex.). Vattasso dates Vat. lat. 1970 in the tenth century, while Stevenson, whose dates are less reliable, says of Vat. Pal. 823, "saec. ix vel x." Reifferscheid, on whom M. Courcelle relies, dated Vercelli CI "saec. ix–x" and Naples VI D 18 "saec. x." In short, under the term "carolingien" M. Courcelle lumps together manuscripts varying in date by two centuries or more. He follows a similar procedure in note 2 on the same page when he lists codices of the commentary on Psalms. For the information of the interested reader a more accurate enumeration of truly early manuscripts of that work follows. The dates are not mine but have been assigned by expert palaeographers, Lindsay or Lowe or, in one case, Bruckner: Autun 20A (saec. viii–ix); Durham B.II.20 (saec. viii med.); Laon 26 (saec. ix in.); Munich 14077–78 (saec. ix[1], since Lindsay did not include mss of the later ninth century in his Notae latinae); Paris 12239–41 (saec. viii med.); St. Gall 202 (saec. ix med., period of Grimalt); Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibl. 77 (saec. viii–ix); and Troyes 657 (saec. viii ex.).

[13] W. Levison, England and the Continent in the eighth century, p. 141, note 1, points out that I was mistaken in deriving a passage in Bede's commentary on Mark from HT. For Boniface, see ibid., p. 283; Alcuin, PL 101, 97 B–C (=PL 69, 909D–910A): Paulinus, MGH: Epist. IV, 526, 35 ff.

coupled with the problem of their relation to the ecclesiastical authority. It is surely no accident that so many citations from HT in the literature of the ninth century are found in works bearing on one or other of these two subjects. The Synod of Paris in 825 addressed itself once more to the task of refuting Iconoclasm. Opposition to it and also to the extreme form of image-worship approved by the Council of Nicaea in 787 had been stated with great fulness a generation before the Synod of Paris in the so-called Libri Carolini. Doctrinally the position of their author or authors was midway between the two extremes sanctioned and enforced successively by imperial authority in the East. The Libri Carolini are full of quotations from Patristic literature, but I could find no trace of HT. The purpose of the Synod held at Paris is expressly stated: ". . . sententias colligere contra eos qui imagines non solum ab aedibus, sed etiam a sacris vasis indiscrete abolere praesumunt." There follows in the surviving report of the Synod a collectaneum of passages from the Fathers. Included are quotations from Books 1, 2, 6, 9, and 10 of HT. But the Greeks had some sympathisers in the West, notably Claudius of Turin. Against him Jonas of Orleans composed a tract, De cultu imaginum, which again is largely a cento of citations from earlier writers, and again HT supplied some of the ammunition for the verbal battle.[14] Controversy died down for a while, only to flare up afresh when the Patriarch Photius in 866 issued an encyclical. This brought to the fore once again various doctrinal differences between the two Churches, the chief of which now concerned the dogma of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Pope Nicholas I, who invited the Carolingian divines to reply formally to the Patriarch's charges, had himself cited a passage from "Theodoret" in a letter addressed in the previous year to the Emperor Michael. In the most penetrating of the works composed in answer to the papal request, Ratramnus of Corbie's Contra Graecorum opposita, passages from HT find a place.[15]

The ideal Christian ruler and the relationship between Temporal and Spiritual Authority were discussed by Smaragdus,

[14] MGH: Concilia II, 484, 25–27, with quotations from HT on pp. 487 and 503; PL 106, 345C, 346B, 346C, 349C.

[15] MGH: Epistulae VI, 481, 18, quoting from HT 4, 6; PL 121, 307C, 336A, 344B.

Jonas, Hincmar of Rheims, and Sedulius Scottus. Although his use of HT in the tract against Claudius of Turin proves Jonas' familiarity with HT, he does not seem to have consulted it when engaged in writing De institutione regia for the young king Pippin; nor does Smaragdus seem to have known the book. But Hincmar in the short essay, De fide Caroli, quotes episodes from the lives of Ambrose and Theodosius I as narrated in HT.[16] Sedulius made more extensive use of it than any other scholar of the age. He included extracts from it in his Collectaneum, while in his treatise, De rectoribus Christianis, there are, in addition to many brief phrases or reminiscences, eight long quotations from that source. The extended excerpts are what one would have expected in view of the purpose of Sedulius, to write a kind of "Mirror for Princes." They record episodes in the life of Constantine, the virtues of Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius I, and, of course, Theodosius' penance at the behest of Ambrose. A letter of Athanasius bids temporal rulers to learn and to yearn for heavenly things, and Valentinian I replies with suitable modesty when consulted by a bishop on a point of doctrine. Nor are a notable miracle at the siege of Nisibis in 350 and Julian's death in the Persian war forgotten.[17] There are traces of HT in a few other authors of the ninth century. It was one of the historical works used by Freculph of Lisieux for his History. He appears to have been a pupil of Helisachar who from c. 822 was abbot of St. Riquier and who may have taught there at an earlier date. The extant catalogue of St. Riquier, drawn up in 831, lists a copy of HT.[18] We have already seen that Amalarius and Wahlafrid quote from it.[19] Later in the century the papal librarian Anastasius evidently consulted the same copy of HT in the Lateran to which Nicholas I had turned for his quotation when writing to the emperor Michael.[20]

[16] PL 125, 969B and 974B–D from HT 9, 20–23.

[17] See S. Hellmann, Sedulius Scottus (Munich, 1906) whose edition of De rectoribus provides full information about Sedulius' sources. For the Collectaneum see ibid., p. 97.

[18] G. Becker, Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui 11, 193.

[19] See page 53 above and MGH: Epistulae V, 248, 19ff., where Amalarius quotes HT on the subject of the Quartodecimans and Lenten fasting.

[20] MGH: Epistulae VII, 419, 25–26 and 421, 3–4; for Nicholas I see above, page 59.

It is thus apparent that by the end of the ninth century HT was well established, and it is not difficult to trace its continued use in the centuries that followed. A few examples must suffice to illustrate the trend and the kind of works for which HT provided useful material. Odo of Cluny relates in his own words the story of Theodosius II's humility towards an arrogant monk of whom Odo dryly observes, "ut credo, non bene compos mentis suae erat." A certain Adalger addressed a brief hortatory tract to a nun, Nonsvinda, for which HT provided suitable exempla. Here and there he indicates his source, but his indebtedness went much further than this; for example, the long description of the controversy between Theodosius I and Ambrose, filling two columns in Migne, is repeated verbatim and without acknowledgment towards the end of this Admonitio.[21] Hagiographers also found Cassiodorus' compilation serviceable, as we see in the Miracula Gorgonii, of which more hereafter, and in Gozwin of Mainz' Passio S. Albani.[22] The numerous writers who contributed, taking one side or the other, to the controversial literature which concerned itself with the Investiture Strife and abuses in the Church, such as simony and the incontinence of the clergy, found HT a handy source for quotations. Passages were taken from Books 2, 7, 9, 10, and 12, some recurring more than once. Thus the story of Paphnutius' intervention at Nicaea in the matter of clerical marriage and its prohibition (HT 2, 14) and the story of Ambrose's election to the see of Milan (HT 7, 8) recur three times.[23] Finally, HT became a normal source of information for historian and chronicler, as can be seen in the works of Marianus Scottus, Sigebert of Gembloux, Otto of Freising, and others of later date.[24] But it is needless to labor the point further; rather one must turn to the even clearer evidence furnished by the catalogues of medieval libraries and by the extant manuscripts of HT.

The lists of medieval libraries containing a copy of HT that

[21] PL 133, 535A; 134, 922C, 932B, and particularly 934D–936D (= PL 69, 1145A–1146D).

[22] See Manitius, op. cit., II, p. 473, with the references there given.

[23] See the excellent index to MGH: Libelli de lite, I–III, where this pamphlet literature has been conveniently collected.

[24] Cf. MGH: Scriptores V, 525, 11 ff.; VI, 307 and 310; XX, 200 and 201.

are given by Thiele and more recently by Mr. L. W. Jones are incomplete even for the period — down to the end of the twelfth century — to which they confine their attention. Nor, as far as I am aware, has any list of surviving manuscripts ever been drawn up. Yet this is essential evidence. It is more conclusive than many of the quotations or reminiscences found in authors; for it is sometimes impossible to be sure that a medieval writer is citing or repeating a story from the primary source. An example will illustrate this. Among the many miraculous episodes related by Theodoret was one that occurred at the siege of Nisibis in 350 and led to the repulse of the Persian forces under Sapor. The holy Ephrem having prayed from the top of a tower which commanded a view of the besieging army, swarms of mosquitoes and other insects appeared and attacked the Persian elephants and horses, filling the trunks of the one and the eyes and ears of the other. This tale was included in HT (5, 45). Soon after the middle of the tenth century an unknown writer composed a brief work, Miracula S. Gorgonii. This minor piece of hagiography was written to glorify the patron saint of Gorze, a monastery in Lorraine. Its author after relating one of the saint's miracles recalls by way of comparison the miracle at Nisibis. The modern editor of the Miracula and Manitius have assumed that the hagiographer took his story directly from HT, but this is far from certain.[25] He narrates the tale in an abbreviated form and in his own words. But the story had been used by Sedulius in De rectoribus Christianis; and it is known that the library of Gorze in the eleventh century possessed a copy of Sedulius' treatise. This codex is lost but formed the basis for a printed edition issued in 1619. The date of the lost manuscript is uncertain, but it was closely related to an extant manuscript of the late ninth century, so that it too may have been copied at that date or not much later.[26] Thus it is at least an even chance that the hagiographer took his illustration from Sedulius rather than from Cassiodorus.

The two lists that follow do not pretend to be complete. It is likely that other scholars may be able to make additions, espe-

[25] MGH: Scriptores IV, 245, 10 ff.; Manitius, op. cit., II, p. 196.
[26] See the full discussion in S. Hellmann, op. cit., pp. 12–13.

cially to the list of extant manuscripts. Where a manuscript in a medieval catalogue can be identified or at least brought into relationship with one that still survives, the fact has been noted in round brackets.

HT in Medieval Library Catalogues

Saec. IX:
- Lorsch
- Reichenau
- St. Gall
- St. Riquier
- St. Vandrille
- Unidentified French library (Becker, op. cit., 21, 4)
- Würzburg

Saec. X:
- Cremona
- Tegernsee (Gozbert)

Saec. XI:
- Arras
- Chartres (Cf. Chartres 10: saec. ix)
- Fécamp
- Massay
- Pomposa
- Ripoll
- Toul
- Trier
- Wessobrunn (Cf. Clm 22015: saec. xii)

Saec. XII:
- Angers, St. Aubin (now Angers 676: saec. xi)
- Bamberg, Michelsberg
- Bec
- Bury St. Edmunds
- Corbie
- Durham
- Maillezais
- Moissac
- Peterborough
- Prüfening
- St. Amand (now Valenciennes 498: saec. xii)
- St. Bertin (cf. Boulogne 102: saec. xi)
- St. Maur-des-Fossés

Saec. XII–XIII:
Cluny
Crépy
Limoges
St. Pons de Tomières
Saec. XIII:
Canterbury, Christ Church
Marchiennes (Cf. Douai 297: saec. xi)
S. French or Italian library (L. Delisle, Cabinet des MSS, III, p. 5)
Saec. XIV:
Admont (now Admont 89: saec. xi)
Constance
Heiligenkreuz (Cf. Heiligenkreuz 80: saec. xiii?)
Klosterneuburg
Ramsey
St. Martin des Champs (Cf. Paris, Mazarine 1641: saec. xi)
Saec. XV:
Aggsbach
Canterbury, St. Augustine's
Erfurt, Amplonius (an epitome only?)
Erfurt, Salvatorberg
Melk
Vienna, Dominicans
Saec. XVI:
Fulda
Syon

Extant Manuscripts of HT [27]

Admont 89. saec. xi.
Angers 676. saec. xi, St. Aubin.
Avignon 1348, foll. 131–236v. saec. xiv ex., Chartreux de Bonpas.
Berlin, Cod. Elect. 395, foll. 1–111. saec. xi et xii, Marienfeld.
Books 5 to 7 followed by Letters of Innocent III.
Berlin, Cod. Elect. 856. saec. xiv, Magdeburg.
Bern 116. saec. xv.
Boulogne 102. saec. xi, St. Bertin.
Brussels, Bibl. des ducs de Bourgogne 655. A.D. 1447.

[27] I wish to thank my friend, Mr. S. H. Thomson, for consulting several catalogues inaccessible to me, and particularly for drawing my attention to the codex in Cracow. He also informs me that the manuscript collection there is intact.

Cambrai 685. saec. ix, Cathedral.

Parmentier dates this codex saec. x/xi. Was he misled by fol. 1 which contains a list of books in the Chapter library written in what is probably a tenth-century hand? See Molinier in Catalogue général 17, p. vii.

Cambrai 688. saec. xii, Cathedral.

Cambridge, Peterhouse 167. saec. xiii.

Cambridge, St. Johns College 169. saec. xiii, Hereford (Franciscans).

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 30. saec. xiv^2, English.

Charleville 4. saec. xii, Belleval.

Charleville 201. saec. xiii, Signy.

Chartres 10 (21). saec. ix, St. Père.

The work is assigned to Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret and Cassiodorus is not mentioned.

Copenhagen, Gl. kgl. S 165 fol. saec. xv, Italian.

Copenhagen, Gl. kgl. S 166 fol. saec. xi.

Cracow, Jagiellonian Library 417 (CC. II. 1). saec. xiii.

Dijon 573. saec. xii, Cîteaux.

Douai 296. saec. xii, Anchin.

Douai 297. saec. xi, Marchiennes.

Edinburgh, University Library 178. saec. xii, English.

Eton College 131. saec. xiv/xv.

Florence, Laurentian Library, Fesul. CLIX. saec. xv.

Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. LXVII, cod. XXII. saec. xv.

Glasgow, Hunt. 204. saec. xv, French.

Glasgow, Hunt. 217. saec. xi et xv.

Heiligenkreuz 80. saec. xiii?

Leningrad F.I.11A. c. A.D. 815, Noirmoutier.

There is no reason to question the accuracy of the entry on fol. 1, to the effect that the manuscript was copied at the instance of Adalhard of Corbie while he was an exile on the island in the Loire. See the description of the codex by Olga Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaia, Codices Corbeienses Leninopolitani (Leningrad, 1934), 156. The manuscript was written by many hands in the so-called Corbie abscript, a style of writing which would require long practice. Hence, as she points out, one can assume that the copyists were monks who had accompanied their abbot into exile.

Leyden, Voss lat. fol. 62. saec. xi.

London, B. M. Addit. 19961. saec. ix aut x.

London, B. M. Addit. 19967. saec. xii.

London, B. M. Cotton Vitell. C. XII, foll. 1–112. Date?
The later part of the present manuscript (foll. 114 ff.) comes from St. Augustine's Canterbury and was written saec. xi/xii. Cf. N. R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, p. 27.
London, B. M. Harley 3242. A.D. 1519, Trier.
London, B. M. Royal 13.C.X. saec. xiii.
London, B. M. Royal 13.D.3. saec. xiii in., Rochester.
London, Chester Beatty 45. saec. xii ex., Guisborough.
Cf. The Library of A. Chester Beatty, Plate CV.
Madrid, Archivo historico nacional. No p-m. A.D. 1400.
Metz 189. saec. xi in., St. Arnulf.
Monte Cassino 302. saec. x/xi et xi ex.
Munich 2685. A.D. 1328, Alderspach.
Munich 6376. saec. x, Freising.
Munich 12237. A.D. 1463.
Munich 13070. saec. xii, Regensburg.
This is one of the two MSS listed by Manitius (op. cit., I, p. 51). The other, Clm 11302, according to the catalogue contains the Latin Josephus, not HT.
Munich 14374. saec. xi, St. Emmeram.
Munich 17126. saec. xii, Scheftlarn.
Munich 18466. saec. xi, Tegernsee.
Munich 22015. saec. xii, Wessobrunn.
Munich 23448. saec. xii et xiv.
Extracts from Books 7–9 and 12.
Naples VI.D.18. saec. x.
New Orleans, Howard Memorial Library. Paper. A.D. 1475, Kempen.
Oxford, Bodl. Canon. pat. lat. 109. A.D. 1465.
Oxford, Bodl. Laud. misc. 440. saec. xi ex.
Oxford, Bodl. Laud. misc. 606. saec. xii ex., Bordesley.
Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 1641. saec. xi, St. Martin des Champs.
Paris, B. N. lat. 5082. saec. x/xi.
Paris, B. N. lat. 8960. saec. xi.
Paris, B. N. lat. 9714. saec. xv.
Paris, B. N. lat. 12525. saec. xii, St. Germain.
Paris, B. N. lat. 16046 and 16047. saec. xv, Sorbonne.
Two copies of HT, one on paper.
Paris, B. N. Nouv. acq. 1603. saec. ix ex., Tours.
E. K. Rand, A Survey of the MSS of Tours, No. 162, with plate 169.
Paris, B. N. Nouv. acq. 1746. saec. x.
Paris, B. N. Nouv. acq. 2379. saec. xi.

Prague, University Library 51 (I.A.41). saec. xv.
Reims 1354. saec. xi, St. Thierry.
Cf. F. M. Carey, Studies in honor of E. K. Rand, p. 59. This is one of the two codices used by Garet. The other, once in the Abbaye de Lyre, I have failed to trace. It is not in the municipal library at Évreux, which possesses many MSS from Lyre.
Trier, Seminarbibliothek 23. saec. xii.
Troyes 250. saec. xii, Clairvaux.
Troyes 266. saec. xii.
Turin DLIX. saec. xi.
Utrecht 256. saec. xv?
Valenciennes 498. saec. xii, St. Amand.
Vatican City, Pal. lat. 823. saec. ix aut x.
Vatican City, Pal. lat. 824. saec. x.
Vatican City, Vat. lat. 1970. saec. x.
Vercelli CI (158). saec. ix-x.
Vienna 374. saec. xiii.
Vienna 3141. saec. xv.
Vienna 4496. saec. xv.

The material collected in the foregoing pages does not pretend to be exhaustive. Yet it may be hoped that it is sufficiently copious, so that further evidence, whether drawn from medieval authors or provided by manuscripts that have been overlooked, will not seriously change the general conclusions presented. *Autres temps, autres goûts*! During the later fifteenth century, between 1472 and 1500 or shortly after, HT was printed four times, at Augsburg, Cologne, Paris, and Strasbourg, the Commentary on Psalms only once, at Basel in 1491.[28]

[28] See Gesammtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 6 (1934), Nos. 6163 to 6167.

TENDENTIOUSNESS IN PATRISTIC COLLECTIONS

The problem of judging the dogmatic tendency of mixed patristic corpora is often a delicate one. As I have pointed out elsewhere such collections appear often to have been made up for general theological or devotional reading and were probably valued more for the variety of their contents than for any consistent principle of selection.[1] This point is strikingly confirmed by an anecdote in John Moschus's Pratum spirituale c. 46 (P. G. 87, 3, col. 2900):

We once approached Father Kyriakos, a priest of the Laura of Kalamon on the holy Jordan. And he related to us,

"Once I saw in my sleep a woman of honorable appearance and dressed in purple and with her two venerable and worthy men, standing outside my cell. And I assumed that the woman was Our Lady the Mother of God and that the two men with her were John the Divine and John the Baptist. Therefore, leaving my cell I invited them to enter and pray in my cell. But she did not consent. I stayed therefore a while beseeching her and saying, 'Let not the humble man be turned away and put to confusion' (Ps. 74:21) etc. And when she saw me pressing my request, she answered me severely saying, 'You have my enemy in your cell and how do you expect me to enter?' And saying this, she departed.

And when I awoke I began to be distressed and considered whether I had sinned against her in thought, for there was no one beside myself in my cell. When therefore I had examined my conscience at length, I did not discover that I had offended her. And when I saw that I was weighed down with grief, I picked up a book to read in order that I might dispel my grief by reading. Now I had acquired a book of the blessed Hesychius, presbyter of Jerusalem, and on opening the volume I found two treatises of the impious Nestorius transcribed at the end of it and I knew immediately that this was the enemy of Our Lady the Holy Mother of God. I then arose and went out and returned the book to him who had given it to me. And I said to him, 'Brother, take (back) your book, for I did not have as much profit from it, as it did me harm.' And when he had inquired of the harm, I related what had happened. And full of zeal he immediately cut the two treatises of Nestorius out of the book and burned them saying, 'Let not the enemy of Our Lady the Holy Mother of God remain in my cell.' "

[1] R. P. Casey, The De Incarnatione of Athanasius, Part 2 The Short Recension (Studies and Documents xiv) London and Philadelphia, 1946, p. xv.

Little is known of the writings of Hesychius of Jerusalem but a collection of apothegmata is ascribed to him and this work is probably intended here.[2] There is no reason to suspect Hesychius of Nestorian tendencies and it is possible that the scribe of the manuscript lent to Kyriakos had included Nestorius's treatises in his collection in all innocency. Even if written in Nestorian circles Kyriakos's brother monk had undoubtedly bought the codex without examining its contents critically. It will be remembered that the supposed Nestoriana in the Athanasian corpus in Milan, Ambros D 51 sup., occur also at the end of the collection.[3]

[2] P. G. 93, 1480, Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, 2 te Aufl., pp. 147, 602. The same work is attributed to Hesychius abbot of Vatou on Sinai.

[3] Casey, op. cit. p. xiii; J. T. S. xxxvi (Jan. 1935) p. 1.

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